

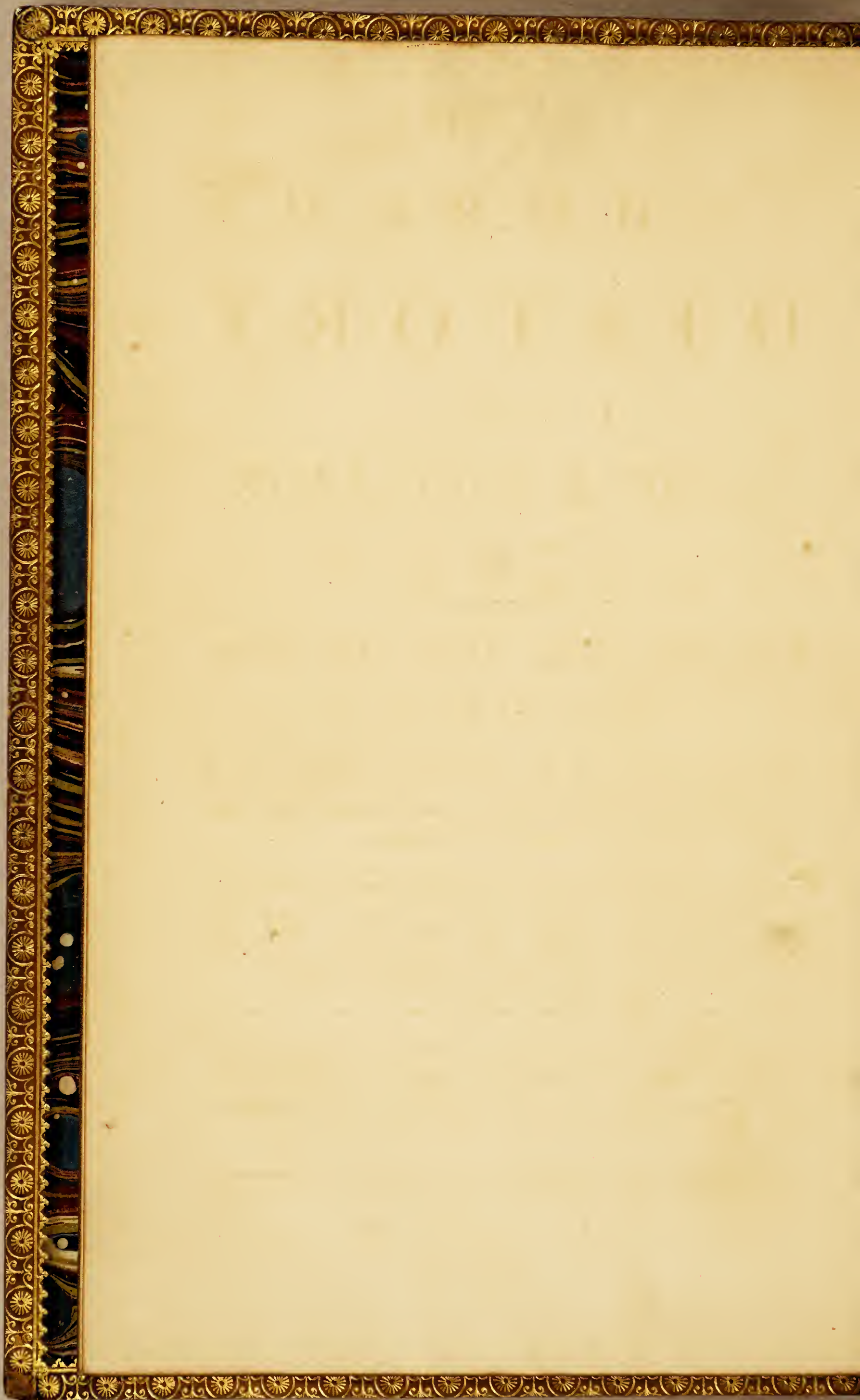
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John Carter Broton.

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JOHN CARTER BROWN

CHURCH
HISTORY
OF
NEW-ENGLAND.

V O L. II.

Extending from 1690, to 1784.

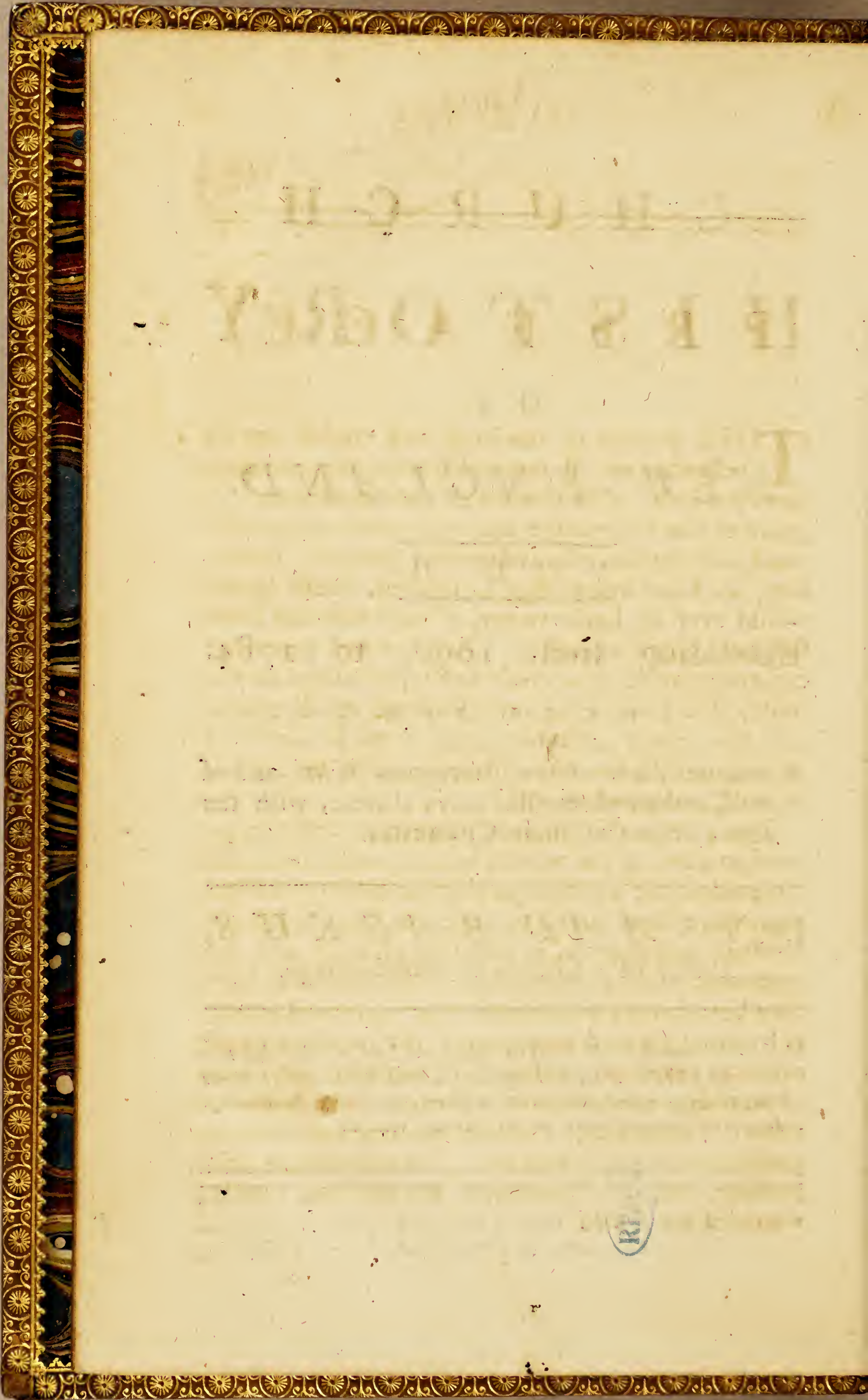
I N C L U D I N G

A concise View of the AMERICAN WAR, and of
the Conduct of the BAPTISTS therein, with the
present State of their CHURCHES.

By ISAAC BACKUS,
Pastor of a Church in Middleborough.

*Thou shalt remember all the Way which the Lord thy God led thee
these forty Years in the Wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove
thee, to know what was in thine Heart, whether thou wouldst
keep his Commandments, or no. Deut. viii. 2.*

PROVIDENCE: Printed by JOHN CARTER, and sold
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P R E F A C E.

THE powers of thinking and choice are so essential to all rational spirits, that without them no idea can be formed of their existence. A desire of the knowledge and enjoyment of the best good, also appears essential to their nature. Therefore, as finite knowledge is limited, finite spirits would ever be liable to err, if they had not some sufficient guard against it. And the best guard we can conceive of, is a clear fixed persuasion in the heart, that God is the only fountain of all good; and that every desirable good is to be obtained and enjoyed in the way of obedience to his revealed will, and nowhere else.

THAT he is the absolute proprietor, and the sovereign ruler of the worlds he has made, is a truth too evident for any but madmen to deny. All nations have been forced to appeal to him, to avenge injustice and perjury, in order to establish any government among themselves: Yet how far have they been from a willingness to be governed entirely by him! *He made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions.* Objects of worship, and forms of worship, even without number, have been invented by mankind; the folly whereof God has exposed in all his dispensations: Yet self-conceit, self-seeking, and self-dependence, are still the ruining errors of the world.

His

His design in all his dispensations, in every age and every country, is undoubtedly the same in nature with that declared to Israel, in the passage which adorns our title page. Three things deserve particular notice therein. 1. That it is the Lord who leads his people through all the changing scenes of life, in this wilderness world. At different times and places their circumstances vary exceedingly; yet he orders or over-rules in all, so that a sparrow cannot fall to the ground, nor an hair from their head, without him. 2. All his dealings are calculated in infinite wisdom, for their trial and humiliation; to discover what is in their hearts, whether they will keep his commandments, or not. Therefore, 3. He requires them to *remember* all the way wherein he leads them, for this end.

CHRISTIANITY, the only true religion, has its name from CHRIST, the foundation, lawgiver, and only head of his church. And one of the greatest historians of our age gives us the following account of its primitive order and government. Says he, "The rites instituted by Christ were only two in number, and these designed to continue to the end of the church here below, without any variation. These were baptism and the holy supper; which were not to be considered as mere ceremonies, nor yet as symbolical representations only, but also as ordinances, accompanied with sanctifying influence upon the heart and affections of true Christians." Of those who heard and believed the preaching of John the Baptist, he says, "They were initiated into the kingdom of the Redeemer, by the ceremony of *immersion* or *baptism*." And during the first century, he says, "The sacrament of baptism was administered without the public assemblies,

blies, in places appointed and prepared for that purpose, and was performed by *immersion* of the whole body*.” This was the primitive way of admission into the Christian church; and of its government our author says, “The people were, undoubtedly, the first in authority; for the apostles shewed by their example, that nothing of moment was to be carried on or determined without the consent of the assembly, Acts i. 15, vi. 3, xv. 4, xxi. 22.—A bishop, during the first and second century, was a person who had the care of one Christian assembly, which, at that time, was, generally speaking, small enough to be contained in a private house. In this assembly he acted not so much with the authority of a *master*, as with the zeal and diligence of a faithful *servant*.” And he assures us, that until about the middle of the second century, “The churches were entirely *independent*; none of them subject to any foreign jurisdiction, but each one governed by its own rulers, and its own laws.” And that an alteration was then made, by industriously propagating the opinion, that Christian ministers succeeded to the rights and privileges of the Jewish priesthood§. Heathen philosophy was also called in to interpret the scriptures by; from whence teachers adopted this maxim, viz. “That it was an act of virtue to *deceive and lie*, when by that means the *interests* of the church might be promoted.” To which they added, in the fourth century, under Constantine, the use of *temporal penalties*, and *corporal tortures*, for the same end¶.

In the mean time a controversy arose about bringing infants to baptism. In the beginning of the

* Mosheim's eccl. hist. vol. 1, p. 32, 91, 96. Dublin edition.

§ Ibid. p. 70, 76, 77, 139. ¶ Page 155, 314.

the third century, Tertullian, who is the first writer that mentions it, opposed it, saying, "What need is there that the *god-fathers* should be brought into danger? because they may either fail of their promises by death, or they may be mistaken by a child's proving of a wicked disposition." But not long after Origen appeared for the practice, and said, "Let it be considered what is the reason, that whereas the baptism of the church is given for the forgiveness of sins, infants also are, *by the usage of the church*, baptized.—It is for that reason, because by the sacrament of baptism the *pollution of our birth is taken away*, that infants are baptized*." Origen is the first man that any have produced, who pleaded for infant baptism; and he also held that the torments of the damned will have an end; and that Christ will be crucified in the next world to save the devils†. Now when heathen philosophy was set up as a rule to interpret scripture by; when the shadows of the old testament were taken to draw a veil over the truth, and church order described in the gospel, and teachers pretended to confer renewing grace by their administrations, before the subjects were taught or believed; and also called in the secular arm to enforce their measures by temporal penalties and corporal tortures, what could be expected but the Antichristian apostasy! Oh, how dark was the night that followed!

YET God did not leave himself without witnesses in the darkest times, some of whom I will name. Peter de Bruys, during a ministry of twenty years, made the most laudable attempts to reform abuses, and to remove the superstitions that disfigured the beautiful

* Clark against Gill upon baptism, p. 105, 111.

† Mosheim, vol. 1, p. 476.

beautiful simplicity of the gospel, and had a great number of followers, in Languedoc and Provence, in France; and he was burnt therefor at St. Giles, in the year 1130. His disciples were called Petrobuscians; and a leading article of their faith was, "That no persons whatever were to be baptized before they came to the full use of their reason." Soon after another minister, whose name was Henry, travelled from Switzerland through various parts of France, preaching the gospel with great success, until he came to the city of Thoulouse; where the Pope and his creatures raised great opposition against him, and cast him into prison in 1148; and he ended his days there not long after. He was thus dealt with because "He rejected the baptism of infants; censured with severity the corrupt and licentious manners of the clergy, and treated the festivals and ceremonies of the church with the utmost contempt*."

THIS account is given by a very learned Lutheran author, who was strongly prejudiced against the modern Baptists, because he held that the Christian church was in its minority, when it was governed in the manner above described; and that in its mature age, "The regulation of it was, in some measure, to be accommodated to the time, and left to the wisdom and prudence of the chief rulers, both of the state and of the church†;" which opinion the Baptists have ever opposed. He freely owns, that the peculiarities of their churches in Germany and Holland are derived from a maxim of reformation, which was held by the Waldenses, Petrobuscians, Wickliffites, and Hussites, long before Luther's day; which is, "That the kingdom of Christ, or the visible church
he

* Vol. 2, p. 437—439.

† Vol. 1, p. 68—70.

he had established upon earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions, which human prudence suggests to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressors." This maxim he declares to be the source of all their peculiarities. In 1525, and in 1533, a few men who were called Anabaptists, took the lead among mixed multitudes, that had taken up arms against cruel tyrants, in hopes of recovering both civil and religious liberty thereby; but they perished in the attempt: A sight of which carried the Baptist churches in that country so far into the other extreme, as not to allow their members to be magistrates, to use the sword, or to take an oath*; which are now the sentiments of the German Baptists in Pennsylvania. But the English Baptists, both in Europe and America, have carefully avoided each of these extremes, for these hundred and fifty years; yet those scandals in Germany have been constantly cast upon them, even down to this day; not because they ever had the least concern therewith, but because this has been found to be a powerful engine to prejudice the populace against allowing equal religious liberty, and for forcing people into religious covenants, before they can choose for themselves.

ALL the reformation that ever took place, in any age or country, was produced by the word of truth, enforced by the spirit of truth, upon each heart and conscience. And the admission of unsanctified communicants into the Christian church, and of the inventions of men to govern it, have caused endless confusions; as thereby three opposite interests have been

* Vol. 3, p. 524, 525, 549.

been set up. The interest of religious teachers, of civil officers, and of the people. The two former have conspired together to enslave the latter; and yet have been far from an entire harmony betwixt themselves. Their contests for preheminance have been long and tedious in this country; but a great and effectual door is now opened for terminating these disputes, and for a return to the primitive purity and liberty of the Christian church. To trace out the evil effects of the apostasy, and to promote, as much as may be, such a return, is the great design both of this and the former volume; in the compiling whereof a large number of records, books and papers, have been searched, and much pains taken to set principles and actions in as clear light as possible. And the author is so far from desiring indulgence in any mistakes, that he earnestly requests the help of all to correct them.

Middleborough, August 2, 1784.

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CHURCH HISTORY
O F
NEW-ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

1. A first Principle of these Churches.
2. Of Witchcraft.
3. Unjust Attempts to turn it against the Baptists.
4. Oppressive Laws.
5. Effects thereof.
6. Plymouth Proclamation.
7. Their Church Order.
8. Evils of denying it.
9. First Ministers of Middleborough and Dartmouth.
10. Of Plymton.

1. **T**HE fathers of New-England came much nearer to the apostolic order of the church, than most other reformers had done. Dr. Cotton Mather published a specimen thereof in the year 1690. Says he, "A church (as the Greek name
C for

for it allows us to think) is to consist of a people *called out* from the ways of sin, by the powerful and effectual work of God upon their souls. Regeneration is the thing without which a title unto sacraments is not to be pretended. Real regeneration is the thing which before God renders men capable of claiming sacraments; and visible and expressed regeneration is that which before men enables us to make such a claim*." From the first planting of the country to 1662, none were allowed to come to the ordinance of the supper, nor to bring their infants to baptism, without such a profession. The synod of that year opened a door for the children of church members to bring their infants upon a lower profession; though in the Massachusetts a profession of regeneration was still held to be necessary, in order for coming to full communion, or having a vote in the government, either of church or state. This was essential to the nature of their plan, of a holy government, in imitation of the church of Israel. And for the church to govern the world, for good men to govern bad ones, seemed much more rational and scriptural, than for the world to govern the church about soul-guides, as they have done since: Previous to which the country was involved in most deplorable circumstances. Their charter lost; their sea-coasts infested with privateers and pirates, and their frontiers with savage enemies. An attempt to take Quebec in 1690 was defeated, which enraged the enemy the more against them, and also involved the country in a heavy debt; to discharge which paper money was first made here, the effects whereof were very pernicious. Officers and people were
greatly

* Companion for communicants, p. 29, 30, 37.

greatly divided in their minds about the causes of these calamities, and about what was the best way to remove them. And in this juncture they were alarmed with an apprehension that the powers of hell were let loose upon them, which amazed and confounded them inexpressibly. The scene was introduced in the following manner :

II. A VARIETY of books, concerning witchcraft, had been published in London and Boston, which were dispersed in New-England. And near the close of 1691, a young daughter and a neice of Mr. Samuel Parris, minister of Salem village (now Danvers) with two other girls in the neighbourhood, made such complaints of distress and injuries upon their bodies, that a physician pronounced them bewitched. Hereupon an Indian woman, from New-Spain, that lived at the minister's house, tried some experiments to find out the witch, which she pretended to have been used to in her own country. This coming to the knowledge of those children, they accused her of being the witch ; of appearing to them, and pinching, pricking and tormenting of them. Teachers, rulers and people, were so much affected with this calamity, as to keep days of fasting and prayer for its removal ; first at said minister's house, next in the village, and then through the Colony. Such notice being taken of and pity shown to those children, they increased their complaints ; and others advanced like accusations, not only against the Indian woman, but also against two other old women in the place, so that all the three were committed to prison on March 1, 1692. And this noise increased, and such accusations spread, till about an hundred persons were imprisoned on that account. In the midst of which distress, on May 14, Sir William Phips, the Governor,

nor, arrived at Boston with their new charter, in company with Dr. Increase Mather, who procured it. The Governor and Council were so much concerned to purge this growing evil from the land, that they did not wait for the meeting of the legislature, to whom the constituting of Courts of Justice belonged, but constituted one themselves, whereof Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton was President, and by their sentence one woman was hanged on June 10; and by September 22, they executed seven men and thirteen women; after which that Court was dissolved. And by the time that a Court of Oyer and Terminer was constituted according to charter, rulers and ministers were so far convinced that they had acted upon wrong principles, and had also admitted the testimony of accusers without sufficient care and caution, that all the rest of the accused were either acquitted upon trial, or pardoned by authority. A first principle that they acted upon in those condemnations was, that God in his providence would not suffer the devil to appear to and afflict any in the shape of an innocent person. And they admitted one accuser to one instance, and another to another, of those spectral appearances, to make up two witnesses. They also who would confess themselves to be witches, were admitted as witnesses against others. And, says a gentleman who was a careful observer of those transactions, "These confessors, by their plausible confessions and accusations of others, begetting credit, have been a great, if not the greatest engine of Satan to carry on the accusing and apprehending of others, until this matter came to such a height, that, if it had not been stopped, might have brought the best Christians in the country under the imputation of that abomination, and have involved all in confusion

fusion and blood*.” Deplorable indeed was the case of New-England at that time; though we are assured, by men who have searched fully into the matter, that a greater number of persons were executed for witchcraft in only one county in England, even in the loose reign of Charles the second, than all that were put to death here; and also that these executions were under the influence of laws and precedents from thence†. But this being a new country, it was more taken notice of, and was more severely felt than there.

III. We cannot find that the Baptists had any hand in those confused and bloody proceedings; yet much pains have been taken to turn the same against them. A late minister of Danvers, the place where those delusions began, says, “It is reported of witches, and those that hold unlawful commerce with evil spirits, that in order to their entering into confederacy with them, they are solicited to renounce their baptism, even though received in infancy; which shews, that such a renunciation of baptism, which Dr. Gill pleads for and commends, is matter of *great impiety*||.” What Dr. Gill pleaded for, was the renouncing of infant sprinkling, and the practising of believer’s baptism, according to primitive institution. But how far was that from the witchcraft at Danvers or Salem! The plainest instances of any mention of baptism therein were as follow. In the examination of a woman before authority, July 21, 1692, were these questions and answers, viz. “Q. Goody Lacey! how many years ago since they were baptized? A. Three

* A modest enquiry into the nature of witchcraft, by John Hale, minister of Beverly, 1697, p. 78.

† Hale, p. 25, 26, 69. Hutchinson, vol. 2, p. 16, 22, 69.

|| Clark against Gill, 1752, p. 33.

Three or four years ago, I suppose. Q. Who baptized them? A. The old serpent. Q. How did he do it? A. He *dipped* their heads in the water, saying they were his, and that he had power over them. Q. Where was this? A. At Falls River. Q. How many were baptized that day? A. Some of the chief, I think there were six baptized. Q. Name them. A. I think they were of the *higher powers*." Also Capt. Osgood's wife, of Andover, was made to confess, that she with others had been carried through the air to a certain pond, where the devil *dipped* her face in the water, and made her renounce her former baptism. But she, with five others in prison, gave in a retraction of their confessions to the Court, wherein they declared that they were amazed and affrighted out of their reason, by some gentlemen who told them they knew they were witches, and therefore they assented to what was suggested to them, as the only way they had left to save their lives; but when they came to be better composed, they professed that they were innocent and ignorant of such things. And fifty-three of their neighbours gave in a written testimony to the Court, that they believed this to be an honest retraction; one of whom was Dudley Bradstreet, Esq; Mr. Parris and other ministers were very officious in those examinations of persons accused of witchcraft*; and sixty years after Mr. Clark must bring up the same, to prove that "Renouncing of his early dedication must appear such an instance of *impiety*, as to a considerate person were enough to put a stop to his proceedings, how inclinable soever he might be to those principles on other accounts||." Such methods have they taken to frighten people from
seeing

* Hutchinson's history, vol. 2, p. 31, 36, 40—44.

|| Against Gill, p. 33.

seeing with their own eyes, and from acting according to their own judgments, in the great concerns of the soul and eternity.

IV. THE second Massachusetts charter, which was dated October 7, 1691, allowed equal liberty of conscience to all Christians, except Papists. The first General Court under it met at Boston June 9, 1692, to whom Dr. Cotton Mather delivered a sermon, wherein he said, "The civil Magistrate is most properly the officer of human society, and a Christian, by nonconformity to this or that imposed way of worship, does not break the terms on which he is to enjoy the benefits of human society." And ten years after he published this and other passages, in his history of New-England, and said he would thereby stop the noise about persecution therein*. But how could that be done? for he said, "The General Assembly may, by their acts, give a *distinguishing* encouragement unto the religion which is the *general profession* of the inhabitants §." That is, may empower some to judge for others about worship, and to enforce their judgments with the sword; which is the root of the worst persecutions in the world. He knew that such acts as he spake of could not take place herewithout the royal assent; yet said he "I am verily persuaded, that the nearness of our dependence on the crown will be found one of our most glorious advantages." His reason therefor is, its giving them a greater security in future shaking times. But experience has now demonstrated, that it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in Princes. He in that sermon called Cambridge college "A river, the streams whereof made

* Magnalia, b. 7. p. 28, 29.

§ Account of his father's life, p. 141.

made glad the city of God†;” which method of applying those words of divine revelation to human schools, is doubtless a perverting of them; and is a way which has done much hurt to mankind. Christians are required to withdraw from such as suppose that gain is godliness; yet now a freehold worth forty shillings a year, or other estate worth fifty pounds (which was soon after reduced to forty) gave every inhabitant a right to vote for legislators; and an Assembly so elected, in their session at Boston, October 12, 1692, enacted,—“ That the inhabitants of each town within this Province shall take due care, from time to time, to be constantly provided of an able, learned and orthodox minister or ministers, of good conversation, to dispense the word of God to them; which minister or ministers shall be suitably encouraged, and sufficiently supported and maintained, by the inhabitants of such town. And all contracts, agreements and orders, heretofore made, or that shall hereafter be made, by the inhabitants of any town within this Province, respecting their ministers or school-masters, as to their settlement or maintenance, shall remain good and valid, according to the true intent thereof, the whole time for which they were or shall be made, in all the particulars thereof, and shall accordingly be pursued, put in execution, and fulfilled. And where there is no contract and agreement made in any town, respecting the support and maintenance of the ministry, or when the same happens to be expired, and the inhabitants of such town shall neglect to make suitable provision therein, upon complaint thereof made unto the Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the county where such town lies, the said Court shall, and hereby are

† Said sermon, p. 57, 66, 87.

are empowered to order a competent allowance unto such minister, according to the estate and ability of the town, the same to be assessed upon the inhabitants, by warrant from the Court, directed to the Select-Men, who are thereupon to proceed to make and apportion such assessment in manner as is directed for other public charges, and to cause the same to be levied by the constables of such town, by warrant under the hands of the Select-Men, or of the town-clerk by their order.

“ BE it further enacted, that where any town shall be destitute of a minister qualified as aforesaid, and shall so continue by the space of six months, not having taken due care for the procuring, settling and encouragement of such a minister, the same being made to appear upon complaint unto their Majesties Justices of the General Sessions of the Peace of the county, the said Court shall and hereby are empowered to make an order upon every such defective town, speedily to provide themselves of such a minister as aforesaid, by the next sessions at the furthest; and in case such order be not complied with, then the said Court shall take effectual care to procure and settle a minister qualified as aforesaid, and order the charge thereof, and of such minister's maintenance, to be levied on the inhabitants of such town.

“ AND it is further enacted, that the respective churches, in the several towns within this Province, shall at all times hereafter use, exercise and enjoy, all their privileges and freedoms respecting divine worship, church order and discipline; and shall be encouraged in the peaceable and regular profession and practice thereof.

“ AND further it is enacted, that every minister, being a person of good conversation, able, learned
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and orthodox, that shall be chosen by the major part of the inhabitants of any town, at a town-meeting duly warned for that purpose (notice being given to the inhabitants fifteen days before the time of such meeting) shall be the minister of such town; and the whole town shall be obliged to pay towards his settlement and maintenance, each man his several proportion thereof."

THEY had here entered upon a new and untried scene; and the glaring contradiction betwixt the two last paragraphs of this law, with their finding that some towns had more than one church therein, as also that Boston would not submit to it, caused the Assembly, in their next session of February 8, 1693, to repeal those two paragraphs, and in addition to the rest of that law to enact, "That each respective gathered church, in any town or place within this Province, that at any time shall be in want of a minister, such church shall have power, according to the directions given in the word of God, to choose their own minister;" yet not to settle him without the concurrence of the majority of voters in town affairs, who usually meet therewith for worship; but that being obtained, then "all the inhabitants and rateable estates lying within such town, or part of a town, or place, limited by law for upholding the public worship of God, shall be obliged to pay in proportion towards the minister's settlement and support. Provided, that nothing herein contained is intended, or shall be construed to extend, to *abridge* the inhabitants of Boston of their accustomed way and practice, as to the choice and maintenance of their ministers."

V. HERE it is to be noted, that like causes may ever be expected to produce like effects. One of
our

our most essential rights is not to be taxed where we are not represented. And it is most certain, that a civil legislature are not our religious representatives; and in order then to tax the country to religious teachers, they were *abridged* of the rights which Boston would not part with. So when Governor Hutchinson was pursuing the scheme, in 1769, of having America taxed by Britain, he said, "there must be an *abridgement* of what are called English liberties." But the bloody effects of that attempt, are a loud warning to all after ages. The Assembly went on, in said law, to empower the rateable inhabitants of any town where no church was gathered, to call and settle a minister, by the advice and direction of three neighbouring ordained ministers, who should be supported as others were; and also to enact, that if any town or place neglected to obey these laws, their Select-Men, or other officers, should be convened before their county Court, and, upon conviction of such neglect, be fined Forty Shillings for the first offence, and Four Pounds for every after conviction. As a fruit of which, a warrant was sent from Bristol Court, "requiring the town of Swanzeey to choose a minister according to law." The town met upon it August 28, and adjourned to October 17, 1693, when they concluded to report to the Court, that Elder Samuel Luther was their minister*. He was ordained pastor of the first church there, July 22, 1685, by the assistance of the Elders Hull and Emblen, of Boston. And the rulers of Plymouth Colony had publicly owned him in that office; one instance whereof take as follows.

"VI. AT a Court of Assistants held at Plymouth, the first Tuesday of August, 1690; it being manifest

* Swanzeey town records.

manifest that the Lord our God calls his poor people in this wilderness to great humiliation and mourning, for those awful tokens of his displeasure that are upon us, and our manifold sins, the procuring cause thereof, the Governor and Council do therefore commend it to all the churches of God and people in this Colony, to set apart and observe the last day of this instant as a day of solemn fasting and prayer, wherein to deprecate those heavy judgments impending, and to intreat the Lord to take away all our iniquities, and receive us graciously: Particularly that God would prosper the Agents of the country in their weighty negotiation in the other England; that our address may be accepted with our Lord the King, and we may have a settled establishment of our ancient liberties and privileges, sacred and civil; that God would call back the commission he hath given to the sword of the enemy to be drawn among us, and direct and manage all the counsels of his servants in this dark and difficult day of war, and give success in the destruction of our adversaries, and restore peace to us; that contagious and afflictive distresses may be removed; that the necessities of the poor may be supplied, and the judgment of scarcity and famine prevented; and that God would bless the labours of our hands, and give both seedtime and harvest; and that in a way of humiliation and reformation we may be prepared to meet God, and wait for him in the way of his judgments, and that mercy may be the latter end of all his dispensations to us.

Per order of the abovesaid Court,

SAMUEL SPRAGUE, Recorder."

*To Mr. Samuel Luther, Elder of the church of
Swanzey, for him to communicate to the
church and congregation there.*

VII. THIS I carefully copied from the original, preserved in Elder Luther's family; and Bristol Court could not be ignorant of his being thus owned as the settled minister of Swanze; yet this attempt must be made for the other denomination, though they have never been able to set up their worship in that town to this day. A second Baptist church was formed therein, and Mr. Thomas Barnes was ordained pastor of it in 1693. It may be serviceable to enquire into the reason of their being so much better treated when under Plymouth government, than they were after they were incorporated with the Massachusetts.

PLYMOUTH people were taught in Holland, that the church was the school wherein Christ trained up his ministers; though they were far from despising human learning in its place. One of their proofs was the 14th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; upon which their learned pastor, Mr. Robinson, made the following remarks. Says he, "That the Apostle in this chapter directs the church in the use of extraordinary gifts, is most evident: Neither will I deny but that the officers are to guide and order this action of *prophesying*, as all other public business, yea, even these wherein the brethren have greatest liberty: But that he intends the establishing of, and so takes order, and gives direction for an ordinary constant exercise in the church, even by men out of office, I do manifest by these reasons. (1.) Because the apostle speaks of the ministration of a gift or grace, common to all persons, as well brethren as ministers, ordinary as extraordinary, and that at all times, which is *love*; as also of such fruits and effects of that grace, as are no less common to all than the grace itself, nor of less continu-

continuance in the churches of Christ, to wit, of *edification, exhortation and comfort*, ver. 3, compared with 1 Thes. v. 11, 14. (2.) In ver. 21, he permits *all* to *prophecy*, and speaks as largely of prophesying as of *learning*, and *receiving comfort*. But lest any should object, may women also prophesy? the apostle prevents that objection, and it may be reproves that disorder amongst the Corinthians, ver. 34, by a flat inhibition, enjoining them expressly to keep silence in the church, in the presence of men, to whom they ought to be subject, and to learn at home of their husbands, and not by teaching men to usurp authority over them, 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, which men in prophesying do lawfully use. (3.) Now in that Paul forbids women, he gives liberty to all men, gifted accordingly, opposing women to men, sex to sex, and not women to officers, which were frivolous. And again, in restraining women, he shews his meaning to be of ordinary, not extraordinary prophesying; for women immediately and extraordinarily inspired might speak without restraint, Exod. xv. 20, Judg. iv. 4, Luke ii. 36. (4.) The prophets here spoken of were not extraordinary, because their doctrines were to be *judged* by other prophets, and their *spirits* to be *subject* unto the *spirits of others*, ver. 29, 32; whereas the doctrines of the extraordinary prophets were neither subject to nor to be judged by any; but they, as the Apostles, being immediately inspired, were *the foundation* upon which the church was built, *Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone*, Eph. ii. 20, and iii. 5. (5.) The apostle makes a *prophet* and a man *spiritual* all one, whom he further describes, not by any extraordinary gift, but by that common Christian grace of submission unto *the things he writes*,

writes, as the commandments of the Lord: Unto whom he opposeth a man wilfully ignorant, ver. 37, 38, teaching us, that he doth not measure a prophet, in this place, either by the office of ministry, or by any extraordinary prophetic gift, but by the common Christian gift of spiritual discerning. (6.) It is the commandment of the Lord by the apostle, that a *bishop must be apt to teach*, and that such elders or bishops be called as are *able to exhort with sound doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers*. Now except men, before they be in office, may be permitted to manifest their gifts, in *doctrine and prayer*, which are the two main works requiring special qualification in the teaching elders, how shall the church (which is to choose them) take knowledge of their sufficiency, that with faith and good conscience they may call them, and submit unto them for their guides †?"

VIII. Now, as the church of Plymouth had always acted upon these principles, it was easy for them to look upon Elder Luther as a minister of Christ, whose church was of the same mind about that point of gospel order. But a minister of chief note among the Massachusetts says, "That custom, of the prophesying of private brethren, was not observed in any of the churches of New-England besides themselves: The ministers of the respective churches there not being so well satisfied in the way thereof as Mr. Robinson was. The most judicious and leading elders among said churches, as Mr. Cotton, &c. that were not absolutely against the thing, were yet afraid that the wantonness of the present age would not well bear such a liberty as that great light of these churches expressed, to a per-

† Robinson against Bernard, p. 236, 237.

a person of great quality, to whom he bore no small respect, a few hours before he departed this life †." But Mr. Robinson says, "It is apparent, both in the scriptures and ecclesiastical writers, that not only pride and contention, but heresy, and almost all other evils, have sprung from the officers and governors of the church. And surely nothing hath more in former days advanced, nor doth at this day more uphold the throne of Antichrist, than the people's discharging themselves of the care of public affairs in the church, on the one side, and the priests and prelates arrogating all to themselves on the other †."

IX. Two brethren of Plymouth church were ordained pastors of other churches in 1694. One of them was Mr. Jonathan Donham, who was ordained at Edgarton, on Martha's Vineyard. The other was at Middleborough, fourteen miles west of Plymouth. About sixteen families began to plant here a little before Philip's war; who moved away when the war broke out, and returned again after it was over; and Mr. Samuel Fuller preached to them till a church was constituted among them this year, and he was ordained their pastor. The settlement of Dartmouth began about the same time with Middleborough, and their first teacher was also from Plymouth, but not in the same way. His name was John Cooke, who was a deacon in Plymouth church for some years; but was cast out of it in the latter part of Mr. Reyner's ministry there, who left them in November, 1654. It is said that Cooke was excommunicated for having been the author of much dissention and division, and for
after-

† Hubbard.

† Robinson, p. 204.

afterwards running into sectarian and Anabaptistical principles. And also that Reyner's removal was partly occasioned by the unsettledness of the church, "Too many of the members being leavened with prejudices against a *learned* ministry, by means of *sectaries* then spreading through the land*." Some light concerning them may be gathered from the following facts. Plymouth church took much pains to obtain learned pastors, if they were otherwise well qualified; but they refused to be confined to human schools for ministers, or to compel the world to support them. They laboured hard to get the learned Mr. Charles Chauncy to settle as a colleague with Mr. Reyner; but Mr. Chauncy could not consent to it, because gospel baptism appeared to him to be *dipping*, and that sprinkling for baptism was *unlawful*, as their church records witness. In 1650 a separation commenced at Rehoboth, because Mr. Newman, their minister, with six others, assumed all the power of church government to themselves, under the name of "The church representative†." For this usurpation a number of the church withdrew, and set up worship by themselves; and the ministers tried hard to move Plymouth Court to suppress them by force, but could not prevail therein. These people soon after became Baptists; and one of them was most shamefully and cruelly persecuted the next year at Boston. By searching into these matters, Mr. Dunstar, President of Harvard college, was brought openly to renounce infant baptism. And seeing the temper which was discovered in the Massachusetts, he removed into Plymouth Colony, the

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* Plymouth register, p. 21, 22.

† Clarke's narrative, p. 24.

very year that Reyner moved out of it; as several other ministers also did about that time, because they could not bring Plymouth rulers into the use of tax and compulsion for their support. (Vol. I, p. 282—284, 320.) And though Reyner excommunicated Cooke, yet, not being able to bring the church into all his measures, he left them, and robbed them of their church-records, which they never recovered; so that what records Plymouth church now has, were afterwards collected from memory and private writings. These facts may help the reader in forming a judgment of what Cooke's sectarian principles were, and also how he came by them. His posterity inform me, that he was a Baptist, and that he preached the doctrine of election, with the other doctrines of sovereign grace, in Dartmouth for a number of years. And it appears by Mr. Samuel Hubbard's letters, that a Baptist church was formed upon the west borders of Dartmouth, in the year 1685, wherein Hugh Mosier and Aaron Davis were principal leaders; which church is continued by succession to this day; though the Quakers are the most numerous of any one sect in that town.

X. ON August 24, 1695, the church of Middleborough was bereaved of their beloved pastor, æt. 66; "A great loss to the place, said Mr. Cotton, he being a sincere godly man, and useful preacher." Mr. Isaac Cushman, another member of Plymouth church, was invited to succeed him; but having a call at Plymton (betwixt here and Plymouth) at the same time, he accepted it; and was ordained there in 1698*; and was continued a great blessing to them

* Mr. John Cotton, above referred to, was son to the famous minister of that name in Boston. He was minister at Plymouth about

them for about forty years. But thirteen ministers, in and near Boston, published a letter of advice to the churches, dated December 28, 1699, in the 8th page of which they represent it to be a *jesuitical principle* for any to hold, "That *illiterate* men may be serviceable and admirable preachers." This with other things moved their churches to look only to colleges for ministers for a long time after. In the mean while, as the empowering the world to controul the church in the choice of pastors was an untried path to them, it took them three years to find out what to do, when a parish did not concur with the church therein. But when the Assembly met at Boston, May 29, 1695, they enacted, that in such a case the church should call a council of three or five neighbouring churches, who should decide the controversy thus: If the council approved of the person elected, the parish must submit and support him; if not, then the church must give up their choice, and call another minister, and in this method they have proceeded ever since. And it may be serviceable to hear the judgment of a number of their most eminent men, about the state of religion in New-England in those times.

about 30 years, till contentions about the above points of church order occasioned his dismissal, by advice of a council in 1697, and the next year he went and gathered a Congregational church in Charlestown, South-Carolina, where he died much lamented September 18, 1699. *Plymouth register*, p. 21, 22.

C H A P. II.

1. Declensions described and lamented, by Mr. Prince.
2. Willard and Torrey.
3. Mitchel.
4. Mather.
5. Willard.
6. Stoddard's Errors.
7. Episcopal Society incorporated.
8. Arbitrary Laws and Proposals.
9. Quakers Attempts against them.
10. Some Revival, and some Baptist Letters.
11. Other Churches corrupted.
12. And enslaved.
13. Opposition thereto at Norwich.
14. A few Things concerning the Baptists.

THE learned and pious Mr. Thomas Prince says, "The second generation rising and growing thick on the stage, a little after 1660, there began to appear a *decay*; and this increased to 1670, when it grew visible and threatening, and was generally complained of and bewailed bitterly by the pious among them; and yet much more to 1680, when but few of the first generation remained." One of his proofs hereof is what Mr. William Stoughton delivered in an election sermon at Boston, April 29, 1668; when he said, "The death and removal of the Lord's eminent servants, in one rank and in another, hath manifested the *lie* in many of us. Whilst they lived, their piety and

and zeal, their light and life, their counsels and authority, their examples and awe, kept us right, and drew us on in the ways of God, to profess and practise the best things. But now they are gone, ah! how doth the unsoundness, the rottenness and hypocrisy of too many among us make itself known, as it was with Joash after the death of Jehoiada ||!" Other of his proofs are in vol. 1. p. 405, 406.

II. IN 1680 Mr. Willard said, "Be sure, when the glory of God and the spiritual good of your brother requires it, that you carry on your reproofs to conviction. There are some things that arise only from sudden passion, and there a transient rebuke may be enough: Other things may be deliberate, and men are led into them more gradually; they may also be eminently reproachful to religion, and a dangerous snare to the souls of them that are tempted; our connivance in such cases may not only blemish our profession, but be a great hazard to it also. At such times, and in such case, you *break your covenant* if you suffer sin in your brother, without using all the means which Christ hath prescribed, and in the order he hath prescribed them, till the end be obtained. If private admonition followed with gentleness and patience will not gain, but they still persist in evil courses, or are not humbled for such faults, you must proceed by steps as far as Christ has bid you. And I believe there is no one thing wherein the covenant is more universally broken, than in neglect of this duty; and if the use of these ordinances shall once come to cease among the churches, and the sins of church members be not regularly suppressed,

|| Christian hist. vol. 1. p. 94, 95. In 1671 Mr. Stoughton was elected into the Council, and he died there Lieut. Gov. in 1702.

pressed, by reason of the unfaithfulness of brethren, religion will languish, and the power of godliness fail. It is not the extending of the covenant to Christians (as some dream) but the neglect of covenant duties towards them, that is like to be the bane of our profession, if any thing. Eli indulged his sons, and one professor indulgeth another; and it is to be feared, that if this were searched to the bottom, it would be found that the original of it is self-indulgence, and that when men wink at scandals in their brethren, it is because they expect the like in way of retaliation: And if things once come to this pass, let any sober and prudent man conjecture whether this be not the way to *cherish apostasy*." Dr. Increase Mather, in the preface, gave a special recommendation of this passage*. Three years after another of their fathers, who was minister at Weymouth, delivered a sermon before their Legislature, which he called, *A plea for the life of dying religion*; wherein he said, "There is already a great death upon religion, little more left than a name to live.—Consider we then how much it is dying respecting the BEING of it, by the general failure of the work of CONVERSION; whereby ONLY it is that religion is propagated, continued, and upheld in being among any people. As converting work doth cease, so doth religion die away; though more insensibly, yet most irrecoverably.—How much is it dying, respecting the visible profession and practice of it, partly by the formality of churches, but more by the hypocrisy and apostasy of formal hypocritical professors?"

III.

* Willard on covenant keeping, p. 110, 111.

§ Torrey's election sermon at Boston, May 16, 1683, p. 11.

III. THE life of Mr. Jonathan Mitchel was published in 1697; and Dr. Increase Mather dedicated this work, which his son had compiled, to the church and college at Cambridge; to whom he said, "Dr. Owen has evinced, that the letting go this principle, that particular churches ought to consist of REGENERATE PERSONS, brought in the GREAT APOSTASY of the Christian church. The way to prevent the like apostasy in these churches, is to require an account of those that offer themselves to communion therein, concerning the *work of God on their souls*, as well as concerning their knowledge and belief.—Mr. Mitchel says, the over-enlarging of full communion, or admission of persons thereto, upon slight qualifications, without insisting upon the practical and spiritual part of religion, will not only lose the power of godliness, but in a little time bring in profaneness, and ruin the churches, these two ways. 1. Election of ministers will soon be carried by a formal looser sort. 2. The exercise of discipline will by this means be rendered impossible. Discipline falling, profaneness riseth like a flood; for the major part wanting zeal against sin, will foster licentiousness. It is not setting down good rules and directions, that will save it; for the specification of government is from men, not from laws. Let never so good a form of government be agreed upon, it will soon degenerate, if the instruments that manage it be not good §." When Mr. Mitchel wrote this, about 1664, he had no idea of pastors being elected in New-England by any others but communicants; and gives these weighty reasons against admitting such upon slight qualifications, which Dr. Mather, then President of the college, endeavoured to enforce.

IV.

§ Said dedication, p. 16, 17.

IV. IN the year 1700 Mather published another book, which he dedicated to the churches of Christ in New-England; to whom he said, "The Congregational church discipline is not suited for a worldly interest, or a formal generation of professors. It will stand or fall as godliness, in the power of it, does prevail, or otherwise: That there is a great decay of the power of religion throughout all New-England is lamentably true; if that revive, there will be no fear of departing from the holy discipline of the churches of Christ.—If the begun apostasy should proceed as fast, the next thirty years, as it has done these last, surely it will come to that in New-England (except the gospel itself depart with the order of it) that the most conscientious people therein will think themselves concerned to gather churches out of churches." He goes on to caution and warn them against many evils; one of which is a dull formality in relations of experiences, in order for admission to communion. And he then says, "There are reports, as if in some churches persons have brought *written* relations, first to the minister and then to the church, which were not of their own dictating, but devised by others for them. I hope these reports have nothing of truth in them; but if they have, I am sure that such *liars to the Holy Ghost* have exceedingly provoked the Lord." Another evil which he warns the churches against, is admitting any but communicants to vote for pastors; and he cites Acts i. 26, vi. 2—5, xiv. 23, to prove that God has plainly given this privilege "To the brethren of particular churches;" and declares it to be "*Simonical* to affirm, that this sacred privilege may be *purchased with money*.*" This testi-

* Vindication of the order of the gospel in New-England, p. 11, 12, 38, 67, 68.

V. MR. Willard also published a discourse in the year 1700, intituled, *The perils of the times displayed*; in which he said, "That there is a form of godliness among us is manifest; but the great enquiry is, whether there be not too much of a general denying of the power of it: Whence else is it, that there be such things as these that follow to be observed? that there is such a prevalency of so many immoralities among professors? that there is so little success of the gospel? how few thorough conversions to be observed, how scarce and seldom?—It hath been a frequent observation, that if one generation begins to decline, the next that follows usually grows worse, and so on, until God pours out his spirit again upon them. The decays which we already languish under are sad; and what tokens are on our children, that it is like to be better hereafter? God be thanked that there are some among them that promise well; but alas, how doth vanity abound among them! How do young professors grow weary of the strict profession of their fathers, and become disputants for the things which their progenitors forsook a pleasant land for the avoidance of?" And forty years after Mr. Prince said, "We have been generally growing worse and worse ever since †."

VI. THE greatest evils that our fathers came here to avoid, were the mixture of worthy and unworthy communicants in the churches, and the tyranny of secular

* His life, p. 173.

† Christian history, vol. i. p. 100, 101, 108.

secular and ministerial Courts over them; but these evils were now coming in like a flood upon New-England. A church was formed in Brattle-street, Boston, in 1699, with a professed design of not requiring such a strict profession of communicants as their fathers did. And Dr. Coleman, their minister, was judged to have the chief hand in publishing an anonymous answer to President Mather's vindication of their former order. And a discourse was printed in London, in 1700, wrote by Mr. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, wherein he blends the Jewish and Christian dispensations together, in such a manner as to hold, that as all who were circumcised were obliged to keep the passover, so that all who were baptized ought to come to the Lord's supper, yea, "Though they know themselves to be in a *natural condition*." And by confounding the work of Jewish and Christian officers together, he asserted that the power of admitting, censuring, and restoring of members, is wholly invested in the elders, so that "The brethren of the church are not to intermeddle with it." When any of them, though they were unjustly dealt with, they might appeal to a classical, provincial and national judicature. And says he, "A national synod is the highest ecclesiastical authority upon earth.—Every man must stand to the judgment of the national synod, Deut. xvii. 12†."

THESE are the words of a minister of great note in New-England, whose doctrine has had an extensive spread therein ever since. Yet these are some of the main principles that formerly brought on the Antichristian apostasy; and no text in the bible could be more aptly turned to favour their bloody persecutions, than the one here brought to prove his

† Stoddard on instituted churches, p. 12, 21, 29, 33.

his last point. For it says, *The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, or unto the judge, even that man shall die.* The priest was to explain God's law, and the judge was to carry the same into execution. This is the very passage that the ministers brought in 1668, to prove that the Baptists in Boston ought to be banished (vol. i. p. 385.) But Dr. Owen, in his piece upon toleration in 1648, truly observed, that as God was the head and lawgiver of that nation, idolatry, blasphemy, or seducing of others from his worship, were capital crimes; and that applying of those laws to cases of worship or discipline in other nations, with the infliction of any other punishment than death, was nothing but *arbitrary* proceedings. To which I may add, that Jesus Christ, and souls who are *born again*, are all the priests that are named in the new testament, 1 Pet. i. 23, ii. 5, and the name is never applied therein to officers, in distinction from other saints. Men who have tried to take the power of church government out of the hands of the saints, in particular churches, have never been able to fix any rational bounds to it elsewhere. A synod of each nation is the bounds that Mr. Stoddard proposed in this piece, but would exclude the English bishops therefrom, because they are not chosen by the church, but the State †; but they were for other measures.

VII. WHEN his book was published in London, a small Episcopal society in Boston was the only one of that denomination in all New-England. But on June 16, 1701, a charter was procured, to incorporate a society to propagate (what they called) the gospel in foreign parts. And they sent over missionaries, and got their matters in such forwardness,

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† Ibid. p. 30.

in about twelve years, as to obtain an order from the Crown to bring a bill into Parliament, to establish Episcopacy in America; and its speedy accomplishment was expected, when Divine Providence prevented it by the sudden death of Queen Anne, August 1, 1714. And the two succeeding Princes did not see cause to revive that scheme*. In 1701 the two eldest ministers in this Province published their testimony for the ancient order of these churches, and against growing declensions and corruptions; namely, Mr. John Higginson, of Salem, aged 85, and Mr. William Hubbard †, of Ipswich, aged 80, wherein they give their particular approbation of President Mather's vindication of that order‡. In 1702 Mather published another book, intituled, *The glory departing from New-England*; wherein he says, "Alas! what a change is there in that which hath been our glory! What a glorious presence of Christ was there in all his ordinances! Many were *converted*, and willingly *declared* what God had done for their souls; and there were added to the churches daily such as should be saved. — There is sad cause to fear, that greater departures of the glory are hastening upon us: Neither our civil nor ecclesiastical state is ever like to be what it once was¶."

VIII. THE Massachusetts Legislature, who met October 15, 1702, made a long preamble about some irreligious towns, that refused or neglected to receive and support orthodox ministers; upon which they added another law to empower the County Courts, after fining such assessors as did not

* Chandler's appeal, 1767, p. 50—54.

† The historian so often quoted.

‡ See Wise's works, p. 68—74.

¶ Christian history, vol. 1, p. 102, 103.

not fulfil their orders, to appoint others to do it, and then to procure a warrant from two Justices of the Quorum, requiring the constables of delinquent towns or districts to collect such taxes, upon the same penalty as for other taxes: And the fines imposed upon delinquent officers were to go to pay these new assessors for their service; and the ministers, who were thus supported, were then contriving to get a classical judicature established over the churches. They drew up proposals for associations to be formed in each county, who should have the power of licencing candidates for the ministry, and of directing particular societies, in the call and settlement of ministers; to which was to be added a standing Council, whose sentence should be final and decisive, but not without the concurrence of the majority of the pastors present. A number of ministers signed these proposals November 5, 1705, an hundred years to a day after the gunpowder plot was to have blown up the Parliament in Westminster. They were sent round for others to sign, in order to their being presented to the Legislature. But Mr. John Wise had been so well taught, by the briers and thorns of tyranny (vol. 1, p. 518) that, instead of signing them, he wrote a sharp answer to them; and though he was forced to send into another Colony to get it printed, yet their design was defeated thereby. The ancient church of Plymouth changed their way of receiving members, from verbal to written relations, in this month of November, 1705*.

IX. DARTMOUTH and Tiverton, where the Quakers were the majority, were put to trouble, from time to time, because they did not receive
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* Plymouth register, p. 31.

and support such ministers as others called orthodox; and they also met with ill treatment elsewhere. An old law was in force in Connecticut, intituled, HERETICS, which forbid any town or person to entertain any Quaker, upon penalty of Five Pounds a week, and required that they should be imprisoned and sent out of the Colony: That none should hold unnecessary discourse with them, upon penalty of Twenty Shillings: That none, except rulers and ministers, should keep any Quaker books, upon penalty of Ten Shillings, and that all such books should be suppressed; and that no master of any vessel should land any Quakers, without carrying them away again, under the penalty of Twenty Pounds. And though this law was not rigorously executed, yet it was not repealed; therefore their friends in London made application, in 1704, to the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist ministers there, desiring that as they would shew themselves friends to equal liberty, they would use their influence in their favour, and apply to the Queen for a repeal of said law. This was thought not to be so agreeable, as to try for a reformation in New-England; and therefore said ministers in London wrote, to some ministers of influence here, a letter to be communicated to others, wherein they said, "We cannot but judge it disagreeable with the spirit and principles of the gospel, and an encroachment upon the DIVINE PREROGATIVE and the undoubted rights of mankind, to punish any for their conscientious and peaceable dissent from the established way of religion, while they are not justly chargeable with any immorality, or what is plainly destructive of civil society*." But as that law

* Calamy's abridgement, p. 671.

law was not repealed here, the Queen and Council repealed it October 11, 1705; a copy of which act was published by John Rogers, of New-London, soon after; and the same is in a late history*.

X. In the beginning of the year 1705, such a revival of religion was granted in Taunton, in the county of Bristol, as turned the minds of the people there in general from vain companies, and many immoralities, to an earnest attention to religious worship and conversation§. Some things of like nature appeared in Boston, and in several other places. About the same time Elder Valentine Wightman, from North-Kingstown, went and settled at Groton, seven miles north of New-London, where he became pastor of the first Baptist church in Connecticut. For some years they were oppressed by the ruling party; but in his latter days they enjoyed liberty, and also much of a divine blessing. He ministered there to good purpose for more than forty years, and died June 9, 1747, as his son who succeeds him informs me. Their brethren at Boston, being destitute of a pastor, wrote again to England for help, from whence a number of ministers sent them the following answer.

" To the church of Christ, baptized on profession of their faith, in Boston, New-England.

" Dear Brethren,

" London, March 17, 1706-7.

" W E are heartily concerned for you, since we have heard of your being destitute of a pastor; and are so much the more troubled, because we cannot think of a minister, who is at liberty, proper for you. We are glad to hear that you find so much

* Douglass, vol. 2, p. 340.

§ Christian history, vol. 2, p. 108—112.

much kindness among the ministers of another denomination, that they are willing to assist you, and should more rejoice to hear you had a minister well qualified of your own persuasion; but at present we can serve you no otherwise than to pray for you that you may have an agreeable settlement: That you may increase both in knowledge and grace, and may adorn the doctrine of our God and Saviour, by a holy conversation. So pray, dear brethren, your brethren and servants in the gospel of Jesus Christ,

*Nathaniel Wyles, Richard Adams,
Richard Parkes, John Piggott,
Joseph Stennett, Benjamin Stinton,
Nathaniel Hodges, Richard Allen.
Joseph Masters,*

THE Baptist church which was formed at Kittery in 1682 (vol. 1, p. 505) returned again to their connexion with the church at Boston, and Mr. Drown moved there, whose son Shem was long serviceable in the office of Deacon among them. Elder Screven went to South-Carolina, to whom the church at Boston now wrote; and on June 2, 1709, he returned an answer, wherein he said, "Dearly beloved, this may inform you, that I have many thoughts of heart about you, and am much concerned for you; and hope I may say, my prayers are to God for you, though I am not with you; nor can I come as I was inclined to do, our help being taken from us; for our minister who came from England is dead, and I can by no means be spared. I must say it is a great loss, and to me a great disappointment, but the will of the Lord is done. I have longed to hear that you was supplied with an able minister, who might break the bread of life among you; but if the Lord do not please to supply

ply you in the way you expected, your way will be to improve the gifts you have in the church. Brother Callender and Joseph Russell I know have gifts that may tend to edification, if improved: I think you should call one or both of them to it." They did so to Mr. Callender, as appears by a letter from Charlestown, South-Carolina, to him, of August 6, 1708, which mentions it; and the letter closes thus: "I have been brought very low by sickness; but I bless God I was helped to preach and administer the communion last Lord's day, but am still weak. Our society are for the most part in health, and I hope thriving in grace. We are about ninety in all. I rest your affectionate brother and fellow-labourer, in the best of services, for the best reward,

WILLIAM SCREVEN."

XI. WE must now consider how error had a further spread in this country. Mr. Stoddard published a sermon from Exod. xii. 47, 48, wherein he says, "A minister who knows himself unregenerate, may nevertheless lawfully administer baptism and the Lord's supper. Men who are destitute of saving grace may preach the gospel, and therefore administer and so partake of the Lord's supper." President Mather answered him in 1708, when he said of this passage, "I am mistaken if in this logic there is not sophistry." But the misery of both of them was, an entanglement in an inconsistent scheme. The advocates for the half-way covenant in 1662 said, we know of no stronger argument for infant baptism than this, that church members are to be baptized (vol. 1, p. 335) and now Stoddard says, "The sacrament is a converting ordinance to church members only, and not for other men. The children of God's people should be baptized, which are generally at
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that time in a *natural condition*." Upon which his opponent says, "We are to judge as charitably of the child as we do of the parent: We baptize them as being disciples and believers, and visibly belonging to the kingdom of heaven: Dr. Goodwin says, the infants of believers are the *purest part of the church**."

How imperfect is human knowledge! Stoddard published a reply in 1709, wherein all his arguments turn upon these points, viz. "That if un-sanctified persons might lawfully come to the passover, then such may lawfully come to the Lord's supper;—and they who convey to their children a right to baptism, have a right themselves to the Lord's supper, provided they carry inoffensively†." He could plainly see that there was no half way in the Jewish church; and his opponent could see as plainly, that fruits meet for repentance were required in order for baptism, even of such as were in the covenant of circumcision. But as tradition had taught them both to build the Christian church upon that covenant, neither of them could act consistently thereon; though they were two of the most eminent ministers then in New-England. Most of their successors have held fast their errors, but not their virtues. And as these things shew how the churches were corrupted, so what follows discovers how they were enslaved.

XII. THE third Governor Winthrop died Nov. 27, 1707, upon which a special meeting of the Assembly of Connecticut was called on December 17, to choose them another Governor. By a law then in force, he was to be elected out of a certain number

* Said sermon, p. 13, 27. Mather's answer, p. 67, 68.

† Appeal to the learned, p. 50, 89.

number of men in previous nomination; but they broke over those limits, and elected an ordained minister of New-London for their Governor; who, when they sent an account of it to him, readily quitted the solemn charge of souls, for worldly promotion, and was sworn into his new office Jan. 1, 1708; after which they repealed the law that they had before broken, and enacted that for the future the Governor might be chosen out of any of the freemen. Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall, son to a Massachusetts magistrate, and a graduate of Harvard college, was the Governor thus chosen, and by annual elections he was continued in that office for sixteen years. He was a great politician, and he exerted all his influence to raise ministerial power as high as possible. He took the proposals of 1705, and presented them to their Legislature, where its unscriptural form was soon taken notice of; for there was not a text of scripture in the whole scheme. Perceiving that it could not be received so, it was withdrawn without much noise, and the following method was taken to carry his point; an act was passed by the Assembly that met at Hartford, May 13, 1708, which says, "This Assembly, from their own observation, and from the complaint of others, being made sensible of the defects of the discipline of the churches of this government, arising from the want of a more explicit asserting the rules given for that end in the holy scriptures, from which would arise a firm establishment amongst ourselves, a good and regular issue in cases subject to ecclesiastical discipline, glory to Christ our head, and edification to his members*, hath seen fit to ordain

* Church and State are here *confounded* together; as if a being members of the civil community, made men members of Christ, and he their head.

ordain and require, and it is by authority of the same ordained and required, that the ministers of the churches, in the several counties of this government, shall meet together at their respective county towns, with such messengers as the churches to which they belong shall see cause to send with them, on the last Monday in June next, there to consider and agree upon those methods and rules for the management of ecclesiastical discipline, which by them shall be judged agreeable and conformable to the word of God; and shall at the same meeting appoint two or more of their number to be their delegates, who shall all meet together at Saybrook at the next commencement to be held there, where they shall compare the results of the ministers of the several counties, and out of and from them to draw a form of ecclesiastical discipline," which should be presented to the Assembly for their acceptance, and the expence of those meetings was to be borne out of the Colony treasury. This order was obeyed; and the ministers who met at Saybrook, September 9, 1708, adopted the confession of faith that was composed at the Savoy in London, 1658, and the heads of agreement entered into between Presbyterians and Independents in London, 1690, and then added fifteen articles concerning church discipline, which were the proposals of 1705 new modeled, with scripture references annexed to each article: Though a gentleman of that day observed, that the text which speaks of Balaam's saddling his ass would have been as much to the purpose as many they brought. Their second article, which contains a summary of the whole scheme, is in these words, viz.

"THAT the churches, which are neighbouring each to other, shall confociate for mutual affording

ing to each other such assistance as may be requisite, upon ALL OCCASIONS ECCLESIASTICAL: And that the particular pastors and churches, within the respective counties in this government, shall be one confociation (or more if they shall judge meet) for the end aforesaid, Psalm cxxii. 3—5, cxxxiii. 1, Eccl: iv. 9—12, Acts xv. 2, 6, 22, 23, 1 Tim. iv. 14, 1 Cor. xvi. 1.”

THE first of these texts speaks of Princes on their thrones, and not of church officers. And when we come to the antetype of Aaron and David's line, we find none therein but Jesus Christ, and regenerate souls. Officers, as distinguished from other saints in the Christian church, are never called priests nor Kings in the new testament. And said an eminent father of New-England, “The order of officers in the church is an order of *servants*, and the order of saints an order of *Kings* (which is the highest order in the church) *sitting upon the thrones of David for judgment*, whom the ministers are to serve, in guiding and going before them in, and ministring of their judgments*.” Their second proof refers to the *unity of brethren* under our great High Priest, who most explicitly excludes all striving about who shall be the greatest from his kingdom. Neither is the third text any more to their purpose. The fourth gives an account of the meeting of one church, at the request of another two hundred miles off, upon a special occasion, and not of the meeting of neighbouring churches upon all occasions ecclesiastical. The two last treat of gifts received by *prophecy*, and of *orders* given to the churches by apostolic authority; and until ordinary ministers can prove that they, as such, are Princes

* Robinson against Bernard, p. 227.

on their thrones, and are endowed with apostolic authority over the churches, we may safely conclude, that the above application of scriptures was a perverting of them from their genuine meaning and design. Yet thereby two kinds of judicatures were set up over the churches. The one called confociations, consisting of ministers meeting in their own persons, and churches by their messengers, whereof each church may send one or two, though the want of them is not to invalidate the acts of any Council; but none of their acts are esteemed valid without the concurrence of the majority of the pastors present. They are the standing council within each circuit upon all occasions ecclesiastical, though in cases of special difficulty they may call the next confociation to sit and act with them. They are to have a new choice of messengers and moderators once a year, if not oftener, and the last moderator is to call a new meeting when it is judged proper. Their sentence is to be final and decisive. Their other judicatures are called associations, which are meetings of ministers by themselves in each circuit, as often as they think proper, to hear and answer questions of importance, to examine and licence candidates for the ministry, to receive complaints from individuals or societies, and to direct to the calling of the Council to try the same, when they judge proper; to direct destitute churches in calling and settling of pastors, and to make complaint to their Legislature against such as they judge to be negligent of their duty in that respect. And each association sends a delegate or two to a general association once a year, from all parts of that government.

THIS scheme was not introduced without glaring deceit: For their fourth article says, "That according

ing to the *common practice* of our churches, nothing shall be deemed an act or judgment of any Council, which hath not the major part of the elders present concurring, and such a number of the messengers present, as makes the majority of the Council." Whereas this practice was so far from being *common*, that it was an innovation then made, directly subversive of the fundamental principles of the New-England churches; as we are assured by Mr. Wise, Dr. Mather, and others. No man knew better what those principles were than Mr. Thomas Hooker, the first minister of Hartford; and he is full in it, that though it is expedient on special occasions to call councils or synods, yet that elders act therein as commissioners sent, and not as pastors; and that other messengers sent have equal power with them*. Says he, "*God hath set officers in the church*, 1 Cor. xii, 28, therefore the church is before officers†." And from Matt. xviii. 15, and 1 Cor. v. 12, he concludes, "That each man and member of the society, in a just way, may be directed, censured, reformed, or removed, by the power of the whole, and each may and should *judge* with the consent of the whole: This belongs to all the members, and therefore to any that shall be in office, if they be members. They are superior as officers, when they keep the rule; but inferior as members, and in subjection to any when they break the rule. *Christ gave some to be pastors, some to be teachers*. He alone, out of his supreme and regal power, doth furnish them with graces and abilities, appoints the work, lays out the compass thereof, the manner of dispensing, and the order and bounds of their dispensation." And he observes, that to remove the power of
censure

* Survey of church discipline, part 1. p. 119.

† Page 91.

censure from a particular church, leads into endless disputes; because no general Council was called in the three first centuries, and no man can tell as there will ever be another*. Says he, "The truth is, *a particular congregation is the highest tribunal*, unto which the grieved party may appeal in the third place, if private council, or the witnesses of two, have seemed to proceed too sharply. If difficulties arise in proceeding, the Council of other churches should be sought to clear the truth; but the *power of censure* rests in the congregation where Christ placed it. The churches sent them, and therefore *are above them*†." Yet now the churches were not allowed the power to say whether their ministers should meet at Saybrook, or not; and the result of their meeting being laid before the Legislature of October 14, 1708, they said, "This Assembly do declare their great approbation of such a happy agreement, and do ordain that all the churches within this government, that are or shall be thus united, in doctrine, worship and discipline, be, and for the future shall be owned and acknowledged established by law. Provided always, that nothing herein shall be intended and construed, to hinder or prevent any society or church, that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences." Thus artfully was this new scheme established, and all others declared to be no more than allowed or tolerated.

XIII. Mr. John Woodward, another Cambridge scholar, was then minister of Norwich; and

* Page 188, 190, 232, 238.

† Part 4, p. 19, 47.

and he soon got and read off to his congregation the first part of this act, but without the proviso. Richard Bushnell and Joseph Backus, Esquires, who had opposed that scheme in the Assembly, informed their church of the liberty they had to dissent from it; but the minister carried a major vote against them; therefore those representatives, and other fathers of the town, withdrew from that tyranny, and held worship by themselves for three months. For this the minister and his party censured them; an account of which being sent to the next meeting of the Assembly, they were expelled therefrom. Hereby we may see how far corruption had prevailed in our land. For in 1641, three years after the first taxing law for ministers was made in New-England, a law was made at Boston, which said, "No church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any civil dignity, office or authority, he shall have in the Commonwealth*." How much more equitable was this, than another law in Connecticut? which said, "Whatsoever persons shall on the Lord's day, under any pretence whatsoever, assemble themselves together in any of the public meeting-houses, provided in any town, parish or society, for the public worship of God, without leave or allowance of the minister and congregation for whose use it was provided, and be thereof convicted, every such person shall incur the penalty of Ten Shillings for every such offence. Nor shall any persons neglect the public worship of God in some lawful congregation, and form themselves into separate companies in private houses, on penalty of Ten Shillings for every such offence." This part concerning separate meetings caused sore exercises

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* Massachusetts law-book, printed 1672, p. 44.

to many serious minds, and great difficulties in procuring civil officers; yet it was never repealed until October, 1770. But not long after Norwich minister had censured their representatives, he consented to refer the matter to a Council; and they followed it, with Council after Council, for about six years. Governor Saltonstall came there himself upon one of those occasions; and Mr. Stoddard of Northampton was moderator of the last but one of those Councils. My grandfather went a journey as far as Boston and Ipswich, an hundred and thirty miles, to consult with Mr. Wise and the two Mather's upon these affairs. At last, by advice of a Council that met August 31, 1716, said minister was dismissed, and the church in Norwich determined to abide upon their ancient foundation. And it was known, that when the church was constituted at Saybrook in 1660, with the approbation of other ministers, Mr. James Fitch was ordained their pastor, by the laying on of the hands only of their two deacons, as a token that the power of ordination is in the church as a body. They came and planted Norwich the same year; and Mr. Fitch was continued one of the most useful ministers in Connecticut for near fifty years. The church in East-Windsor, under the care of Mr. Timothy Edwards, father of Mr. Jonathan, also refused to receive the Saybrook platform. And the temper of those who introduced it farther appears by the incorporating act of the town of Killingly, passed in May, 1708; which says, "No person now inhabiting on said lands, or any other persons dwelling without this Colony, who have purchased any lands within the said township, that shall not give due obedience to all the laws of this Colony for the upholding the worship of God, and paying all public charges, shall

shall have any benefit by this act." At the same time they gave their Governor two hundred acres of land therein. This account is carefully taken from their public records and laws, and other authentic vouchers.

XIV. A FEW things concerning baptism shall close this chapter. An aged and honorable gentleman near Piscataqua river informed me, that about the year 1710, a number of people in Dover* were so fully persuaded that they ought, in a literal sense, to be buried in baptism, that on a Lord's day, and the day after, Mr. Pike, their minister, baptized nine persons in that way, in a branch of that river. But such a noise was made, and opposition raised against it, as prevented any further proceedings therein. About the same time a Baptist meeting was set up at Scituate, in the county of Plymouth, where President Dunster spent his latter days to good purpose (vol. 1, p. 320.) Mr. John Peirce preached to them for some time, until he and others removed to Swanzey, in or about 1711, and on October 19, 1715, he was ordained a pastor of the second church there, colleague with Elder Joseph Mason, who was ordained in July, 1709. And they continued in good esteem in their offices, until Elder Mason died, May 19, 1748, and Elder Peirce September 8, 1750, being each of them near 90 years old. On March 16, 1714, Dr. Cotton Mather wrote the letter to the Baptist church in Boston, which is in vol. 1, p. 522; subscribed thus, viz. "To my worthy friend, Mr. Ellis Callender, elder of a church of Christ in Boston." He joined to it in 1669; was a leading member of it when the Court nailed up
their

* Mr. Hansard Knollys was minister there, from the spring of 1638 to the fall of 1641, vol. 1, p. 101.

their meeting-house in 1680; and he was continued a great blessing to them until he died in a good old age, after the year 1726.

C H A P. III.

1. Arbitrary Claims and Proceedings.
2. Moody and White against them.
3. A cruel Law. 4. Liberty in Rhode-Island. 5. Mather for it.
6. Is friendly to the Baptists. 7. Jennings joins to them.
8. Wallin's Letters. 9. Arian Herefy.
10. Hollis's Donations. 11. Some Revival of Religion. 12. Comer converted.

I. **G**OVERNOR Lyndon informed me, that, when the Quakers were hanged at Boston, a view of the cruelty then exercised towards them, and of their behaviour under their sufferings, moved Peter Wanton to join with that people. And his son Joseph was a teacher among them in Tiverton for many years, whose daughter Richardson told me, that, during Governor Dudley's administration, her father was frequently sent to Boston, to defend his town against the arbitrary claims of other ministers; and that the Governor privately favoured him therein. Some extracts from the records of the Quaker society shew, that in 1707 a cow, worth Three Pounds, was taken from

from John Packom, of Little-Compton, for a ministerial tax of Six Shillings and Twopence. And that their monthly meeting on Rhode-Island, in the seventh month, 1708, sent Joseph Wanton with an address to Governor Dudley, "Desiring relief from sufferings for priests rates, by a repeal of those laws;" informing him that if it was not done here, they thought it their duty to address the British Court upon it. A like application was afterwards made by the hand of Ebenezer Slocum, who reported to a meeting in 1709, that the Governor appeared kind and friendly; but as no relief was granted, they then sent to England upon those matters. By the same records we are informed, that in 1716, five cows and calves, worth Twenty-five Pounds, were taken from Peleg Slocum, and twenty-four sheep, worth Eight Pounds Eight Shillings, from John and Abraham Tucker, all upon Slocum's Island, and near all for "A demand of Priest Holmes, of Chilmark," to which town said island belonged, although the great channel betwixt the main and Martha's Vineyard must be crossed to get to it. However, ministers were far from being content with all the power they had yet obtained, and therefore presented a petition to their Legislature, that they would call a general synod; doubtless to revise and carry into effect the proposals of 1705. The Council voted to grant their petition, but it was not concurred with by the other branches of the Legislature*. And two excellent ministers had such a sight of their danger, as to write the following letter to Mr. Wise.

Gloucester, March 25, 1715.

II. "Reverend Sir,

"WE have had the favour and satisfaction of reading, and according to our measure considering, the

* Douglass, vol. 2, p. 378.

the transcendent logic, as well as grammar and rhetoric, of your reply to the proposals, by which our eyes are opened to see much more than ever before we saw of the value and glory of our invaded privileges; and are of opinion, that if your consent may be obtained to a new edition, it may be of wonderful service to our churches, if God shall please to go forth with it. However it will be a testimony that all our watchmen were not asleep, nor the camp of Christ surprized and taken before they had warning. We are, Reverend Sir, full of dutiful respect and gratitude, your sons and servants,

SAMUEL MOODY,

JOHN WHITE."

It was re-printed accordingly; and, with Mr. Wise's other works, it had two editions more in 1773, upon an occasion which will then be mentioned. These two ministers lived to see and rejoice in the glorious work of divine grace, which was granted in New-England, in and after the year 1740. Mr. Moody was minister at York, beyond Piscataqua river. He preached without notes, and refused to be supported by tax and compulsion; and was the most powerful and successful preacher of almost any in the land in those days. Such opposition was raised against Governor Dudley, that he was removed, and never acted with our Legislature after August, 1715; and when they met again November 23, with the pliant Lieutenant-Governor Taylor in the chair, the following act was added to their other taxing laws, viz.

III. "*An act for maintaining and propagating of religion.*"

"WHEREAS the laws of this Province have made good and wholesome provision, that every town within the same be constantly supplied with an able,

able, learned, orthodox minister or ministers, of good conversation, to dispense the word of God unto them; and that such minister or ministers be suitably encouraged, and sufficiently supported and maintained, by the inhabitants of such towns: For the rendering the said laws more effectual, and to prevent the growth of atheism, irreligion and prophaneness, *Be it enacted and ordained by the Lieut. Governor, Council and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same*, that the Justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, within the several counties, at the opening of their Courts from time to time, do give in special charge to the Grand Jury, to make diligent enquiry and presentment of all towns and districts within such county, that are destitute of a minister, as by law is directed; and of such towns and districts that neglect to fulfil their contracts and agreements, and do not make suitable provision for the support and maintenance of their minister or ministers accordingly. And upon such presentment, complaint or information, in any other manner, the Court are directed and required vigorously to put the laws in execution, for the redressing of all defects and neglects of that kind*, and forthwith to make the necessary orders to that end, as by law they are empowered. And in case their orders so made be not duly observed, or by the contrivance and practice of ill men be eluded and rendered ineffectual; for the speedy remedying and reforming of so great an evil, the Justices of
such

* From scripture and all experience it plainly appears, that ministers have been as often guilty of defects and neglects as the people; but they made no law to punish ministers therefor: Which *partiality* promoted atheism and irreligion, instead of preventing it.

such Court are to represent and make report of their proceedings unto the next session of the General Court or Assembly." Upon which the Assembly were to send a minister, recommended by three others, to every such town or district, and to provide for their "Honorable maintenance," by adding a sufficient sum for the purpose to the Province tax upon such places; and were to do the like to each place that neglected to fulfil former contracts with ministers; as also to "Supply and support a minister in places that are destitute, where the Justices neglect their duty." All which sums their ministers were to draw out of the Province treasury. This act was made for seven years, and then was revived and continued till 1730; and that method of charging the Grand Jury has been continued ever since.

IV. RHODE-ISLAND Colony was now ruled by Governor Cranston, and Deputy-Governor Jencks, in conjunction with other worthy men, under whose administration they enjoyed the greatest peace, for above thirty years, that they ever did since they were a distinct government. And for the continuance of the same, and to prevent any society or sect from trying for any pre-eminence in the government, their Assembly of May 2, 1716, enacted, "That what maintenance or salary may be thought necessary by any of the churches, congregations, or societies of people, now inhabiting, or that hereafter shall or may inhabit within the same, for the support of their respective minister or ministers, shall be raised by free contribution, and no otherways." Which law is still in force; and we shall presently hear a number of ministers commending the good fruits of these measures, which yet they were very unwilling to come into.

V. PRESIDENT

V. PRESIDENT Mather published another piece in 1716, wherein he says, "For ministers to pretend to a negative voice in Synods, or for Councils to take upon them to determine what elders or messengers a church shall submit unto, without the choice of the church concerned, or for ministers to pretend to be members of a Council without any mission from their churches, nay, although the church declares that they will not send them, is *prelatical*, and essentially differing not only from Congregational, but from Presbyterian principles. And now that I am going out of the world, I could not die in peace, if I did not discharge my conscience, in bearing witness against such innovations and invasions on the rights and privileges belonging to particular congregations of Christ*." Yet all these innovations and invasions were made in the Saybrook scheme. And to shew that brethren, when chosen by the church, have a right to equal votes in Councils with elders, he says, "There are mechanics, who although they do not excel in that which is called *human learning*, are well versed and learned in the scriptures, spending much time in consulting those oracles of God, and being men of great piety, and excellent natural accomplishments, they may be very useful in Synods."

ECCLESIASTICAL historians give a remarkable account of what happened in the Nicene Synod. "A pious old man, who was no clergyman, nor exercised philosophical notions, by his plain discourse did more towards the conviction of an heretical philosopher, than all the learned bishops in the Council could do†."

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VI.

* Disquisition concerning Eccl. Councils, Preface, p. 13.

† Disquisition, p. 19.

VI. THESE things naturally led him and his brethren into another sort of behaviour towards the Baptists, than when he was scribe of the Synod of 1679, who declared that they were setting up their posts by God's posts; which moved the Court to nail up the doors of the Baptist meeting-house. For Elder Callender's son Elisha was added to the church under his care, on August 10, 1713; after which he was educated at Harvard college, and called into the gospel ministry; and as President Mather had expressed his willingness for such a thing to Elder Callender, his church called the President, his son, and Mr. John Webb, to assist in ordaining Mr. Elisha Callender, as pastor of the Baptist church in Boston, May 21, 1718. And Dr. Cotton Mather, in the ordination sermon, said, "It is very sadly true, that many ecclesiastical communities, wherein piety has its votaries, yet are guilty of this evil, that they impose terms of communion which many that have the fear of God are by just exceptions kept from complying withal. Now in this unhappy case what is to be done? do this, let good men go as far as they can without sin in holding communion with one another. But where sinful terms are imposed, there let them make their stops; there a separation becomes a duty; there the injunction of heaven upon them is, *be ye separate saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you.* The imposers are the schismatics. There have been many attempts to unite people in forms and terms, that are not the pure maxims of living unto God; and so to build the tower of Zion on a foundation which is not the *tried stone and the precious*, and so not the *sure foundation*. There has hitherto been a blast from heaven upon all these attempts; they have miscarried, as being rather calculated

culated for the tower of Babel. New-England also has in some former times done something of this aspect, which would not now be so well approved of; in which, if the *brethren, in whose house* we are now convened, met with any thing too *unbrotherly*, they now with satisfaction hear us expressing our dislike of every thing that looked like *persecution* in the days that have passed over us." (See vol. 1, p. 523—525.)

VII. THE case of a member, who soon after joined to that church, I think proper here to mention. Samuel Jennings, Esq; was born in Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, February 19, 1685, where he lived till he was above 18 years old, and then went a voyage to sea, where he was pressed on board a man of war. But meeting with very ill treatment there for five months, he in the evening of March 26, 1704, the ship being in a bay at Barbados, attempted to make his escape therefrom by swimming; but by the way he was seized and halled under water by a shark; a terrible case indeed! yet as he cried to God for help, the venomous creature let him go, and his life was preserved, with the loss only of part of a foot and an arm. He returned, married, and lived in good repute in his native town, which he represented several times in our Legislature. After he had served them two years in that office, he wrote as follows concerning his soul affairs. Says he, "Though I had heard much preaching, and read many books, to support the baptizing of infants, and had never read any books, or discoursed on that head with any that were against it, yet I found so much in the scripture to the contrary, that I could not believe it to be right. Notwithstanding I went to several ministers, and discoursed them on that point to get light, and also prayed to God to direct me in the right way; yet
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still it appeared to me unscriptural and erroneous. Then I went to Mr. Callender, the Baptist minister at Boston, who not only discoursed with me, but lent me books set out by those of his persuasion, to support the truth thereof; which when I had read, I found so agreeable with the scriptures, and with the apprehensions I before had from them, that I quickly sought to be admitted into the communion of that church at Boston. And having made a verbal profession, before the church and congregation, I was baptized (that is dipped in the water) by Mr. Elisha Callender, minister of the gospel, on the 9th day of June, 1718, in the 34th year of my age. And truly I may say, as is said of the Ethiopian eunuch, that I came away rejoicing. In a short time after I arrived to a considerable degree of bodily health, which I had lacked for eight years before." He served his town afterwards as their representative, and in other offices; and, without his seeking, a commission of Justice of the Peace was sent him, which, for some reasons, he chose not to accept. He continued a member of said church in Boston till his death in 1764.

VIII. Soon after Mr. Callender was ordained, he opened a correspondence with friends in London, which, with other means, had very great and extensive effects. Thomas Hollis, Esq; one of the most liberal men upon earth, had some acquaintance with President Mather, when he was agent for this Province in England*, and now receiving accounts of the transactions and catholic sentiments that were delivered at the ordination of a Baptist minister in Boston, who was educated at Harvard college, he became the greatest benefactor thereto that they have ever had to this day.

"Nor

* I. Mather's life, p. 170.

" Nor yet to Harvard all his views confin'd ;
 " His active soul still nobler work design'd.
 " A kingdom's welfare dwelt on ev'ry thought ;
 " For gen'ral good his heav'nly candour wrought ;
 " To public peace his prudent schemes invite,
 " Faction to quell, and clashing sects unite*."

WITH or near his first donation to the college, came the following letter from a minister of his acquaintance to his friend in Boston.

" London, March 9, 1720.

" Much esteemed Brother Callender,

" I THANK you kindly, for the particular account you gave me in your last ; and I cannot but lament the sad consequences of sin, and the great degrees of it which remain, even in God's own people ; for surely the greatest part, if not all those who suffered so much for their religion at home, and at last left their native country, and run such great hazards as they did, for the sake of their consciences, must, in the judgment of charity, be esteemed the faithful servants of Christ. But when I consider the methods which these took, or encouraged others to take, with those who differed from them in matters not fundamental, I cannot but wonder at the depth of folly which remains with us, that any body of men should so soon and so zealously pursue those very methods which they had so justly condemned, and so greatly suffered by ! It is a consideration enough to check the towering thoughts of vain man, and to shew the reasonableness of the apostolical advice, let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall ; for I think we are but too subject to the lesser degrees of this temper and carriage, in almost every station of life. For though there is so
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* Rudd's poem on Hollis's death, p. 29.

good an understanding among the three denominations of dissenters, viz. Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists; yet we have too many who are whisperers and backbiters, who by magnifying the weaknesses, or diminishing the real worth and usefulness of those who differ from them, shew that this spirit, as much as it is destroyed, is yet too much alive, and, were it cloathed with power, would soon be formidable. But our wise and gracious GOVERNOR makes the weaknesses and wrath of men to praise him, and the remainder thereof he doth restrain.

“As I heartily rejoice that the Lord hath preserved the baptized church, at Boston, through so many difficulties, so I am glad he hath raised up to them one so able and willing to promote the public good among them. May the Lord succeed you, my dear brother, that so peace and truth may spread and flourish in your days! I am indeed troubled at the paucity* of those of our denomination, in New-England; though I cannot wonder at it, considering the treatment they have generally met with. I am grieved that any who profess the plain scripture baptism should bring it into contempt, by holding with it such wild and antisciptural opinions; but so it hath been with us, and yet remains; though I think the number of such is diminished, within a few years last past. But although we have but few soul-sleepers or Sabbatarians, &c. yet the number of those that plead for general redemption, and some other of the distinctive notions of Arminius, seem to increase among us: However, they seem not quite so rigid and uncharitable as formerly, and there is, I hope, the greatest number of our denomination free from these

* Fewness in number.

these things. As to the method of educating youth among you, it must be allowed, that the design seemed to be well laid for promoting useful knowledge; and I hope your college will be improved to a very great advantage; but I find you have to lament, what we are not strangers to, viz. that those things which in themselves are good, and tend to fit persons for more extensive usefulness, are made necessary for a person in order to the ministry, or should be thought, at any time, to be a sufficient qualification for so great a work. Surely a man blessed with a good natural genius, who has been brought to a true sense of sin, and the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, though he should want the advantage of human literature, must be better capable than one that has it, and is destitute of the other, to guide souls into the ways of salvation; because as he knows something of the deceitfulness of sin, and the wiles of Satan, so he is more capable to comfort poor souls in distress, with the comforts wherewith he himself has been comforted of God. Therefore, though I have a high esteem for human learning, and wish every minister had the advantage of a good degree of it, yet I conceive it is far from being necessary to a man's being employed in the public ministry, and much less do I think it in itself a qualification sufficient for so weighty an undertaking. You will excuse me for so freely declaring my mind upon this head.

“BEFORE this comes to hand, I hope you will have received a letter, subscribed Thomas Hollis. This worthy gentleman is my very good friend, and one who, with his plentiful estate, has done much good among poor ministers and churches here; and I hope New-England will find yet more happy effects of his liberality, and that, with your kind assistance
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in finding and procuring proper objects, something may be done by him for the particular encouragement of our denomination. For, in conversing with him upon this head, he desired me to intimate to you, that he shall be well pleased, if you can find a proper person of the Baptist persuasion, for him to recommend to the governors of the college; and I doubt not but he will give some further encouragement to such an one, who is desirous to be qualified for public usefulness. I intreat you therefore to turn your thoughts to this subject, and give me a line, so soon as you have found a fit person, that so good a work as this may be began. I am ready to believe, that, besides Mr. Hollis's interest with the governors, in behalf of a hopeful young man, who is of our persuasion, he may be prevailed upon to allow Ten Pounds per annum, of your money*, towards defraying the charges of the college; which will be some encouragement for one, who, with promising natural parts, is desirous to devote himself to study, in order to fit himself for public usefulness, but is not well able to go through the charge. I leave this with you, and pray God to direct you. You will find a copy of Mr. Hollis's to you; to which I have added a catalogue of the chest of books therein mentioned; and if any are not disposed of to the college-library, yourself, &c. that then you would use your interest to obtain some of them for Mr. Daniel White†. When you have read Mr. Neal's history of New-England, I desire you to give me your thoughts

* Mexico silver was then about Thirteen Shillings per ounce, in our money. *Douglass*, vol. 1, p. 494.

† Who came over from Mr. Wallin's church two years before, and was then preaching at Newport. Mr. Neal's history first came over this year.

thoughts of it in general; and if you find any thing in it which deserves to be taken notice of, in order to be altered in a second edition, pray freely communicate it to me, and I will do the same to the author, who is a very honest gentleman, and will be glad to be set right, in any thing wherein he may have been mistaken. Just now a gentleman has been with me, whose name is Spurier, who hath brought some hundred tons of silver ore from New-England, and desires me to assist him in presenting a petition to the government, for encouragement*. If you have heard any thing of any late discoveries made of silver mines with you, or any thing of the character of the man, or what notion the people have of it, and will please to give me a line, it may be of use to me; for as I would willingly serve any honest man, according to my ability, so I would gladly know the persons I move for. I am now obliged to conclude at present, and with all my heart commend you to God and the word of his grace, which is able and I hope will build you up in all things. May the Lord be with you, and the church of Christ under your care, causing all blessings to abound towards you in all things. So rest your cordial friend, and unworthy brother in the Lord's vineyard,

EDWARD WALLIN."

BEFORE this came to hand, our friends here had sent a letter, directed thus: "The church of Christ at Boston, in New-England, of the faith and order of the gospel, baptizing visible believers, upon the profession of their faith, and believing the principles of a particular election of a certain number, who shall continue in the perseverance in grace; unto the several churches of Christ that are

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* Great fraud and iniquity was practised in the nation, about such things, in the year 1720.

in the same faith and order of the gospel, in London, do heartily desire your increase and growth in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus, and in all the graces of his holy spirit." They go on to give an account of the first rise of their church, which say they "Several wise and learned men endeavoured, but could not accomplish it; however, God was pleased to succeed the endeavours of our brethren, who were not so accomplished with acquired parts and abilities, by enduring, and to appear for them under all their troubles, so that we continue, through rich grace, a church unto this day." By those wise and learned men, I suppose they intended President Dunster and some with him, who did not accomplish what Elder Gould and his brethren did. One design of this letter was to request some assistance in enlarging and repairing their meeting-house; and it occasioned the following answer :

"London, August 3, 1720.

"Dear and honored brother Callender,

"I received the honor of the church's and your letter together, by Capt. Lawrence. After I had a little considered the contents of both, I waited upon our honored friend, Mr. Thomas Hollis, with the case, with whom I left it; and some little time after he told me, that himself and brother, Mr. John Hollis, would advance some money to repair your meeting-house, upon condition I would prevail with my brethren, concerned in our little fund, to make a present to Mr. Callender, as a token of our Christian respects to him. The motion pleased me well: I willingly undertook my part, and happily accomplished it, though it were out of the common way of our exhibitions; and by the time this comes to hand I hope you will find remitted
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by Mr. Hollis what I hope will fully answer the church's request, together with a small present, which I hope will not be unacceptable, to my brother Callender himself; and shew at least our concern for the good of the baptized interest in Boston, though we may not be capable to promote it in that measure we heartily desire.

“ CONCERNING the state of the Arian controversy with us, and our minister's concern therein, I shall briefly relate the whole as follows. Some few years ago one Dr. Clark, of the established church, a gentleman of deserved reputation, wrote a book, intituled, *The scripture doctrine of the Trinity*; in which he endeavours (after very high expressions of the dignity of the Redeemer's person and nature) to deny him to be a necessary self-existent being; which is construed by his adversaries as a consequential denying his proper divinity, and a degrading our Saviour into a subordinate God, notwithstanding all he hath offered in honor to this hope of a true Christian. This made a great stir, and set many pens to work; some for and some against the Doctor's notions, among several of note in the church of England, and others; some of whom I think carried the point much further than the Doctor appears to have designed. I wish the contest had always continued in the established church; but a little time carried it among the dissenters, and one Mr. Peirce, a Presbyterian minister, of ingenuity and considerable note, among others, espoused Dr. Clark's notions openly (if he went no further.) The debates, pro and con, began to be managed with warmth, not only in the city, but in divers parts of the country. But Mr. Peirce being a man of so much note, and a minister in the city of Exeter, where the Presbyterian interest is in much credit, he was the first person

person who was very publicly noted among the dissenters. His people (after some considerable time, and several methods used to accommodate matters) proposed parting with him, as a man not found in the faith. This occasioned each party to advise with their friends in the ministry, and others, what to do in the case. Some of the persons wrote to upon this account (which were not a few) thought that Mr. Peirce had given too much cause for his people to believe that he had departed from the orthodox faith, in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. Others, though they did not deny this, yet apprehended his people had not dealt so kindly by him in this matter as they ought to have done, by a man of his character and usefulness.

“THE case was some time before a committee of ministers and gentlemen of the three denominations in London, to see if they could find a way to accommodate matters at Exeter, and prevent divisions upon the same account in other places; but they were not all of one mind. Then the whole body of ministers in and about London was called together, and a paper of advices proposed to be considered of in order to sign, for accommodating matters at Exeter. Some of the ministers, who were zealously concerned for the doctrine of the Trinity, at the same time proposed, that a declaration of our faith, with respect to that important doctrine of the Christian religion, should be signed, and sent down with the advices; but, upon a division of the ministers, it was rejected by a majority of about five persons. It was then agreed at the next meeting to consider the paper of advices, paragraph by paragraph; at which meeting were about one hundred and thirty ministers of the three denominations, who placed your poor friend in the chair.

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That part who were against signing a declaration of faith, as above, earnestly insisted upon proceeding directly to read the paper of advices, as supposing it to be the immediate work of the meeting; the other side proposed that article in the church of England which relates to the doctrine of the Trinity, and those answers in the assembly's catechism to the same purpose, to be subscribed by the London ministers, before they proceeded to consider the paper of advices. Warm debates there were indeed for two or three hours, when on a sudden those brethren who resolved to subscribe those articles withdrew into the gallery; which, however just their zeal might be for the truth contended for, was not looked upon as a sufficient reason for the breaking up the meeting at that time. So, after some messages sent from the one part to the other, those above proceeded to subscribe those articles, as containing their sentiments of the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity; and the other proceeded to consider the paper of advices, and drew up a general article of their faith as to that doctrine, which was signed by their moderator by appointment. This they sent to Exeter; while the others drew up another set of advices, and sent down with the articles they had subscribed, and henceforward we came under the distinguishing characters of subscribers and non-subscribers, which distinction I fear will be too long remembered by us, for the common benefit of true religion.

“SOME of the too warm among the non-subscribers would fain fix the odious charge of *persecution* on the other, while they again, with full as much warmth, would fix the charge of *Arianism* upon them. But this severity is not allowed, by the greatest part of either side of the question; and I hope

I hope time will produce a better temper in both parties ; but at present the matter is not accommodated, nor so good a harmony among the ministers as could be heartily wished. As I am satisfied that some among the non-subscribers are gone too far into some of the distinctive notions of Arius, so I think some of the subscribers have given too much ground of jealousy, that they intended to set up those forms as a test of orthodoxy, and the signing of them as necessary to persons being acceptable and useful in the ministry. But I dare say, for the much greater part of both sides, that they intended no evil to their differing brethren ; and that it was a zeal for the doctrine of the Trinity, and the real divinity of our Saviour, which made some subscribe the articles, and not any desire to impose upon others ; and that those who refused the subscription, did it with a design to maintain Christian liberty, rather than any design to encourage or promote Arianism. There is no great difference in the number of either side ; but I think there are not so many of our denomination among the non-subscribers as are on the other side ; and though I cannot say that there are none of our ministers who too much favour the new scheme, yet I may venture to say in general, that our ministers, especially those of the particular denomination*, are sound in the faith, as to the real divinity of Christ, and the true doctrine of the blessed Trinity. Therefore those who upbraid you with their being contrary, act either from prejudice or misinformation. But such have been the visible consequences of this difference, that brotherly love and charity, that indispensable ornament of the Christian religion, have been greatly lost in the debates. May the

* i. e. holding to particular election.

the Lord encrease light and love, as well as zeal and faithfulness, among all the disciples of our blessed Redeemer. So I must have done. The Lord be with you and yours.

EDWARD WALLIN."

IX. MR. James Peirce, above referred to, was ejected from his church, in March, 1719; but a party followed him, and built another meeting-house for him, in the city of Exeter; to encourage whom, he declared his expectation, that by what they suffered, "The spirit of imposition and persecution would be rendered more odious." And he accused that church of attempting to set up an INQUISITION, only because they brought on such a trial as constrained him to own his new opinions, which caused his removal from a profitable living*. Mr. Benjamin Wallin, son and successor in office to Mr. Edward, published an excellent little volume upon the SONSHIP OF CHRIST in 1771, wherein he informs us, that ever since the above mentioned time, creeds and catechisms have been cried down, and a regular Christian education much neglected, under a pretence of reason and liberty. And America has been much infected with the same distemper. But it is not all traditions and human creeds that such men reject, as the following extract from Peirce plainly shews. Under an appearance of a great regard to the scriptures, he published a catechism, wherein the answers were in scripture words; part of which say, "Q. How many Gods are there? A. There is one God. Q. Who is this God? A. Though there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be Gods many and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom
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* His works, printed 1728, p. 115, 136.

are all things, and we *for* him. One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all, 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6, Eph. iv. 6." Which creed is so far from delivering any from the tyranny of human inventions, that where the scripture puts no more than a semicolon between the mention of the Father and the Son, Peirce puts a period, and three pages in his book. And when he comes to speak of the Son, he picks out words that speak of his subjection and obedience to the Father; excluding those which assert his equality with him, which are many*. Whereas, if we leave out the succession of time, and the mode or manner wherein earthly relations commence, which have no place in the Deity, it is easy to conceive of a Father and Son of equal capacity and excellency; with such an oneness in nature, and peculiarity of relation, as no others have: And also that one may, by voluntary contract, subject himself to another for wise purposes, and take upon him the *form of a servant*, and yet remain perfectly equal in nature. How unreasonable then are those great pretenders to reason, who profess to take the scriptures as their rule, and yet reject all those truths therein, which cross their darling notions! Those who are convinced of the infinite evil of sin, see the necessity of infinite merit to remove their guilt, and infinite power to change their hearts and lives, and to guide them to glory. We are told, that by openly owning these doctrines, Mr. Hollis gave a check to some, who had no great opinion of them†.

X. THE Baptists in Boston received from him and his brother 135l. 2s. for repairing their meeting-house, for which a letter of thanks was returned.

* Peirce's works, p. 352, 418—422.

† Rudd's poem, p. 23.

returned. And in Harvard college Mr. Thomas Hollis founded a professorship of theology, with a salary of Eight Pounds per annum to the professor, and an exhibition of Ten Pounds a piece per annum to ten scholars of good character, four of whom should be Baptists, if any such were there. As also Ten Pounds a year to the college treasurer, for his trouble, and Ten Pounds more to supply accidental losses, or to increase the number of students*. And as by charter the ministers of Boston for the time being were constituted a part of the overseers of the college, Mr. Hollis moved that Mr. Callender might have a seat among them. And in a letter to Mr. Callender of February 8, 1721-2, Mr. Wallen said, "I congratulate my friend upon his admitment to the honor of an overseer of the college. I pray God that truth and Christian love may more and more abound." But we are informed by the late Mr. Condy, that Dr. Sewal, at the head of other ministers, positively denied him a seat there. Yet how often have such men accused the Baptists of being much more rigid than themselves? and there was not a word in their charter to exclude him.

XI. DECLENSION and stupidity had long prevailed in the land, till a revival in several places was granted in 1721. Windham had so large a share of it, under the ministry of Mr. Samuel Whiting, as to add eighty communicants to their church this year; for which they kept a special day of thanksgiving to God. One curious event then happened there which I shall mention. The word preached was such a looking-glass to one man, that he seriously went to Mr. Whiting, and told him he was very sorry that so good a minister as he was

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* Neal's history of New-England, vol. 2, p. 220, 221.

should so grossly transgress the divine rule, as to tell him his faults before all the congregation, instead of coming to labour with him in private. The minister smiled, and said he was glad that truth had found him out, for he had no particular thought of him in his sermon. Norwich, ten miles from thence, enjoyed a considerable measure of this blessing the same year, from whence my pious mother dated her conversion. Many young people in Boston were turned to a serious regard for religion also in 1721. The small-pox coming there in April, and prevailing most terribly through the year, had a deep effect upon many souls. It was thought that not more than a quarter of the inhabitants had passed through that distemper before, and none of them who were under 18 years*. One of them deserves particular notice here.

XII. JOHN COMER was born in Boston, August 1, 1704, and sat under the ministry of the two Mather's. Having a great inclination for learning, he, by President Mather's influence, was taken from an apprenticeship to a trade, and put to school, in December, 1720. Serious turns of concern about his soul had been frequent with him for several years; which greatly increased for seventeen days after he had taken that infection. "Nothing," says he, but the ghostly countenance of death unprepared for was before me, and no sight of a reconciled God, nor any sense of the application of the soul-cleansing blood of Christ to my distressed soul: I remained in extreme terror until November 22. All the interval of time I spent in looking over the affairs of my soul; and on that day I was taken sick. As soon as it was told me that the distemper appeared, all my fears entirely vanished, and
a beam

* Christian history, vol. 1, p. 130. vol. 2, p. 375.

a beam of comfort darted into my soul, and with it satisfaction from these words, *Thou shalt not die but live, and declare the works of the Lord.* Yea, so great was my satisfaction, that immediately I replied, to my aunt who informed me, then I know I shall not die now ; but gave no reason why I said so." He recovered, and afterwards became a Baptist minister; and his ingenious diary and papers have furnished many valuable materials for our history. Ephraim Crafts, one of his young brethren, was baptized and added to that church in Boston, January 27, 1723, John Dabney, from London, had been received by them December 4, 1720, and Richard Bevens, from Wales, the next August, who were members of Baptist churches before they came here. Other members from Europe were added to them, both before and since.

C H A P. IV.

1. Ill Treatment about Worship at Swanzey.
2. At Freetown.
3. Tiverton and Dartmouth.
4. Some Relief from England.
5. Ministers Attempts for more Power defeated.
6. Hollis and Wallin's Letters.
7. Further Donations, and Springfield Affairs.
8. First exempting Laws from ministerial Taxes.
9. Sufferings at Rehoboth.
10. The Lyme Dispute.
11. Connecticut Laws, and Yale College.

I. **E**QUAL religious liberty, by virtue of a special act, was enjoyed in Boston; but was so much denied in the country, that most of the Baptists had no heart to send their sons to Harvard college; though a few of them did so, whereby they made some use of Mr. Hollis's donations there. Great pains were taken to compel every town to receive and support such ministers as the Court called orthodox. A law was also made at Boston, in the May session of 1718, to tax all to the building and repairing of parish meeting-houses. In 1717 the pious and judicious Elder Luther fell asleep, leaving the care of the first church in Swanzey to Elder Ephraim Wheaton, who had been a colleague with him

him about thirteen years. The second church in Swanzeſey had then two ordained paſtors; yet in April, 1719, their Select-Men were convented before Briſtol Court, “For not having a miniſter according to the law of the Province.” But upon proving that Elder Wheaton was their lawful miniſter, they were diſmiſſed, “Paying coſts*.” His meeting-houſe ſtood near the borders of Rehoboth; and he and many of his people who lived therein were taxed to Pedo-baptiſt miniſters of that town, of which we ſhall hear more preſently.

II. FREETOWN, which lies on the eaſt ſide of the great river againſt Swanzeſey, met with worſe treatment than they did. For on September 9, 1717, they made choice of Thomas Craghead, a miniſter from Ireland, for their paſtor; and he accepted of their call: But inſtead of an amicable agreement with them about his ſupport, he went in January, 1718, and procured an act of Briſtol Court, to compel Freetown to pay him a ſalary of Sixty-five Pounds a year, to begin from the day he was choſen their miniſter. And for reſuſing to pay it, about fourteen of the inhabitants were ſeized and impriſoned at Briſtol; one of whom was Benjamin Chaſe, a member of a Baptiſt church in Newport. In April, 1719, each party carried witneſſes about theſe matters to Briſtol Court; but the Court diſmiſſed them all, and required the town to obey their former order. In 1720 Thomas Gage and George Winſlow, their Select-Men, were fined Forty Shillings a piece for not aſſeſſing Craghead’s ſalary. At laſt he was defeated in a trial at law, and was forced to quit the town; but theſe broils produced great and laſting evils therein. Little-Compton had ſettled a legal miniſter; and as Elder Tabor owned

* Briſtol Court records.

owned some land in that town, he was taxed to him ; for which a riding-saddle was taken from Tabor, as a person informed me who saw it.

III. TIVERTON and Dartmouth were the only remaining towns in the Province which had not yielded to the ruling party about worship. When orders for that purpose had come from their Courts, they had reported, that Joseph Wanton was the minister of Tiverton, and Elder Tabor the minister of the west part of Dartmouth, and another man for the east part. But as the Court did not esteem them to be orthodox, a complaint against those towns was presented to their Legislature in 1722 ; who annexed such sums as they thought proper for the purpose to their Province tax. This being heard of, their Select-Men refused to assess it ; for which two of them out of each town were seized on May 25, 1723, and were imprisoned at Bristol. Hereupon Thomas Richardson, who married friend Wanton's daughter, was sent over to London ; and with Richard Partridge, Agent for Rhode-Island Colony, presented a memorial to the King in Council ; wherein they observed, that our charter allows equal liberty of conscience to all Christians except Papists ; and that neither the charter nor any law had established any test of orthodoxy in this Province, only as Presbyterians and Independents had set up their major votes as such ; whereby dissenters from them were frequently brought under great sufferings ; from which no redress could be obtained here, " The Assembly always opposing whatever the Governor and Council were at any time disposed to do on that behalf." And as the King, at his accession to the throne, promised protection and liberty of conscience to all his dissenting subjects without exception, they prayed that he would denounce his
negative

negative upon those laws or parts of laws among us, that interfered therewith, and also order those prisoners to be released. A committee was appointed upon the case; whose report with the act of Council thereon are as follow:

IV. "*To the King's most excellent Majesty.*"

"MAY it please your Majesty, in obedience to an order in Council, from the late Lords Justices, during your Majesty's absence abroad, bearing date the 24th day of October last, we did make a representation upon an act passed in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, in 1722, intituled, An act for apportioning and assessing a tax of £ 6232 13 11; since which time another act, mentioned in the said order of reference, passed the 29th day of May, 1723, intituled, An act for apportioning and assessing a tax of £ 6205 15 7½, is come to our hands; by which act a tax is laid in express terms upon the inhabitants of Dartmouth and Tiverton, for the support of a Presbyterian, whom they call an orthodox minister, which falls almost entirely upon the Quakers, there being very few inhabitants of any other persuasion in those two towns*. But as by the charter granted to this Province a free and absolute liberty of conscience to all Christians (except Papists) was intended to have been their foundation and support, and as by several laws passed there, it seems to have been laid down as a just and equitable rule, that the majority of each town congregation should have the choice of their own teachers, we cannot see why the Quakers should be refused this liberty, in the towns where

* The memorial says, "The greatest part of the inhabitants of the said towns being Quakers, or Anabaptists, or of differing sentiments in religion from Independents and Presbyterians." *Quaker records.*

where they are so great a majority, and be obliged to maintain a teacher of a different persuasion. Wherefore we humbly propose to your Majesty, that this act may be repealed; which is most humbly submitted.

WESTMORELAND,

T. PELHAM,

M. BLADEN,

EDW. ASHE.

Whitehall, May 6, 1724.

“ *At the Court at St. James's, 2d day of June, 1724.*
PRESENT,

“ The King's most excellent Majesty, his royal highness the Prince of Wales, A. B. of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Roxburg, Duke of New-Castle, Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Viscount Townsend, Lord Viscount Torrington, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, William Pultney, Esq;

“ UPON reading this day at the board a report from the Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee of Council, upon the petition of Thomas Richardson and Richard Partridge, on behalf of Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin, and Philip Tabor, prisoners in the common gaol at New-Bristol, in his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, for not assessing the inhabitants of the towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton the additional taxes of £172 11, imposed upon them by an act passed there in the year 1722, which appears to be for the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers, who are not of their persuasion; and also in behalf of their friends called Quakers in general, who are frequently under great sufferings for conscience sake in that government: By which report it appears that their Lordships are of opinion, that it may be adviseable for his Majesty to remit the said additional

additional taxes, so imposed on the said two towns, and to discharge the said persons from gaol. His Majesty in Council taking the said report into consideration, is graciously pleased to approve thereof, and hereby to remit the said additional taxes of One Hundred Pounds, and Seventy-two Pounds Eleven Shillings, which were by the said act to be assessed on the said towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton. And his Majesty is hereby further pleased to order, that the said Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin, and Philip Tabor, be immediately released from their imprisonment on account thereof. And the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief for the time being, of his Majesty's said Province of Massachusetts-Bay, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice, and yield due obedience hereunto.

TEMPLE STANYAN."

BEFORE this, I find Mr. Wallin, in one of his letters, saying of King George the First, "Without any partiality to him as our reigning Prince, I believe he is the greatest man, and the most fit for government, of any Prince in the Christian world." And his son and successor, then Prince of Wales, was not inferior to him. By the above act our friends were released from a thirteen months imprisonment. And as Jacob Tabor and Beriah Goddard, of Dartmouth, were imprisoned for not assessing said tax of 1723, Henry Howland, their other assessor, laid their case before the Assembly at Boston, who on November 26, 1724, passed an act to release them, "To signify their ready and dutiful compliance with his Majesty's declared will and pleasure." Anthony and Sisson were of Tiverton, the rest were of Dartmouth, and Philip Tabor was a Baptist minister therein: These things

were far from affording any satisfaction to the ministerial party here, as the following facts will shew. For at the annual convention of their ministers at Boston, May 26, 1725, they drew up an address to their Legislature, which says,

V. "CONSIDERING the great and visible decay of piety in the country, and the growth of many miscarriages, which they fear may have provoked the glorious Lord, in a series of various judgments, wonderfully to distress us: Considering also the laudable example of our predecessors to *recover and establish* the faith and order of the gospel in the churches, and provide against what immoralities may threaten to impair them, in the way of general Synods convened for that purpose; and considering that about 45 years have now rolled away since these churches have seen any such conventions; it is humbly desired, that the Honorable General Court would express their concern for the interest of religion in the country, by calling the several churches in the Province to meet by their pastors and messengers in a Synod, and from thence offer their advice upon that weighty case which the circumstances of the day do loudly call to be considered*: *What are the miscarriages whereof we have reason to think the judgments of heaven upon us call us to be more generally sensible, and what may be the most evangelical and effectual expedients to put a stop unto those or the like miscarriages?* This proposal we humbly make, in hopes that, if it be prosecuted, it may be followed with many desirable consequences, worthy the study of those

* What they wanted was to *recover and establish* the power which ministers claimed; and, like the Synod of 1679, which they refer to, to represent to rulers and people that the judgments of heaven would follow them, if that was not granted, vol. 1, p. 483.

those whom God has made, and we are so happy to enjoy, as the nursing fathers of our churches.

COTTON MATHER, *in the name of the ministers assembled in their General Convention*.*"

ON June 3 the Council voted to grant their petition; but the Representatives voted to defer the matter till their next session, which the Council concurred with, and Lieutenant-Governor Dummer consented thereto. June 11th, a committee of the General Court, whereof Samuel Sewal, Esq; was chairman, appointed upon the affair of ministers salaries, brought in a report, to have a law made to compel every parish to make up to their ministers their several salaries, equal to what they were when their contracts were made; and for the Judges of their county Courts to determine how much their currency had depreciated. This report was not accepted; but instead of it a resolve was passed, recommending it to every town, precinct and parish in the Province, to make up to their respective ministers their salaries equal to what money was when their contracts were made; which resolve they ordered to be read to each congregation the next Lord's day after it was received, and also in their parish meetings the March after†. Episcopalians sent an account to the Bishop of London of the said petition for a Synod, who laid the same before the Lords Justices of the Regency; from whom a sharp reprimand was wrote to Mr. Dummer, October 7, 1725, for giving any countenance to said petition, and for not sending over an account thereof immediately after it was presented and acted upon. They declared that enquiry had been made by proper authority, and they could not find that there was any regular establishment of a national or provincial church here,

* Hutchinson, vol. 2, p. 322.

† Massachusetts records.

here, so as to warrant the holding Synods of the clergy; but that if there were, it was the King's prerogative to call them, which therefore was invaded by the General Court when they intermeddled therewith. And if such a Synod was called, and should be sitting when their letter arrived, they required Dummer "To cause such their meeting to cease, acquainting them that their assembly is against law, and a contempt of his Majesty's prerogative, and that they are forbid to meet any more; but if, notwithstanding such signification, they shall continue to hold such an assembly, you are then to take care that the principal actors therein be prosecuted for a misdemeanor; but you are to avoid doing any formal act to dissolve them, lest it be construed to imply that they had a right to assemble."

CHARLES DELAFAYE."

Mr. Dummer, in a letter to the Board of Trade, endeavoured to excuse himself, by observing, that a like vote of the Council upon a like petition was passed in 1715, which was never censured from home as he knew of*. But then it was not countenanced by the other branches of the Legislature, as this was. The minister who, in behalf of the rest, signed the above petition for a Synod, published a book in 1726, wherein he promises a faithful account of the discipline of the New-England churches. Much of it was written many years before, and an attestation was prefixed to it by Dr. Increase Mather, dated December 10, 1719. After sixty-six years labour in the great work of the ministry he fell asleep, August 23, 1723, æt. 85. Though he was a friend to Councils and Synods, yet he testified against giving them such power as his son and many more wanted. But he and others
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* Douglass, vol. 2, p. 337, 378.

being removed, their children renewed their attempts for that power. His son had a strong affection for the proposals of 1705, and for Gov. Saltonstall, who procured the establishment of that scheme in Connecticut; even so that when Saltonstall died in 1724, Mather preached a funeral sermon for him at Boston, an hundred miles off, and got it printed at New-London. He also now discovered his resentment against Mr. Wise, for writing against said proposals*. And having declared that four Synods had been called by authority in the Massachusetts, he says, "The Synods of New-England know no weapons, but what are *purely spiritual*. They have no secular arm to enforce any canons; they ask none; they want none. And they cannot believe, that any Protestant secular arm would, upon due information, any more forbid their meetings, than they would any of the religious assemblies upheld in the country||." Had this been true, we have no reason to think that their meetings would have been forbidden. But plain facts shew, that the immediate effect of the first of those Synods was the dissolving of a House of Representatives (who would not punish such as the Synod had condemned) and the calling of another; who disfranchised, disarmed and banished a considerable number of persons. And their second Synod declared it to be the duty of the magistrate to put forth his *coercive power against schismatics*; the effects whereof were the fining, imprisoning, scourging, banishing and hanging of those they so called: And the result of the fourth Synod caused the nailing up of the Baptist meeting-house in Boston (vol. i. p. 83—86, 190, 218, 236, 329, 379, 387, 483 :) And are all these
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* Ratio disciplinæ fratrum Nov. Anglorum, p. 184.

|| Ibid. p. 172, 173.

weapons *purely spiritual* ! His meaning no doubt was, that their Synods only informed rulers of what was their duty, which they were to do out of regard to God, and not to them. But the most horrid persecutions that ever were practised were done under such pretences. And this author was in earnest to have their order of ministers supported by taxes, imposed and collected "In the King's name." To justify which he says, "If the most of the inhabitants in a plantation are Episcopalians, they will have a minister of their own persuasion; and the *Dissenters*, if there be any in the place, must pay their proportion of the tax, for the support of this *legal minister**." He knew that such an instance had not then taken place in New-England; and we know that every thing of that nature has been earnestly opposed therein ever since. And he then commended some of his party, for involving a salary for their ministers in a general rate for all town charges, "Where Quakerism was troublesome†;" which he might have said was likewise done to the Baptists in Rehoboth, if he had been willing the whole truth should be known. Mr. Hollis's ideas of the nature of religion, and of the state of this country, appear in the following letter to Elder Wheaton.

VI. "London, March 13, 1723.

"Dear Sir,

"I HAVE newly received, under covert of Mr. Elisha Callender, your long looked-for letter, dated the 25th of December, and give you thanks for the account you give me of the affairs of your church, your circumstances, and your neighbours. I am glad the books sent you are of use unto you; by the same hand you will have another forwarded, which I value, and suppose you will. I rejoice in the

the success of your ministry, and increase of your church, which will naturally increase your cares with your joy. I mourn because of the ignorance of your sleeping Sabbatarians : Let us be thankful for our light, pity them and pray for them, and endeavour in love to lead them into the light also. God, that hath shined into our hearts by his gospel, can lead them from the Sinai covenant and the law of ceremonies, into the light of the new covenant and the grace thereof. I pity to see professors drawing back to the law, and desire to remember that our standing is by grace ; and therefore not to be high-minded over them, but fear, remembering our Lord's words, *watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation*. Every word of God is precious ; the saints love it ; and they that honor him he will honor ; and in keeping of it there is present peace, and a promise of future reward : We now live by faith and not by sight ; he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Go on, Sir, sowing the seed, looking up to him whose work alone it is to give the increase, whoever be the planter or waterer ; and as you do abound in your labours, and do find him multiplying seed unto you, may you yet abound more and more to the end, which is my sincere wish. Let no man rob us of our comfortable hope, that when we cease to be here we shall be present with the Lord, in whose presence the saints believe is fulness of joy in a separate state, and expectation of greater in the resurrection, when it shall be fully manifested how he loved them. Let none jeer us out of our duty now to lips forth his praises with our tongues, since we expect hereafter to sing in a better manner the song of the Lamb, with a much more noble chorus. In reference to your poll-tax and other taxes, which are necessary for support of the govern-

government and society, are not to be esteemed a burthen; it is giving tribute or tithes to whom tribute is due, unless the taxes do oppress you unequally, because you are Baptists and Separatists; if so, then let me know (who profess myself a Baptist) and I will endeavour to have a word spoken for you to the Governor, that you may be eased. You know that our profession is not mody in your country nor ours; few if any of the great men submitting to plain institution; and as we profess ourselves disciples of Christ, it is our duty to take up our cross with patience, and pay parochial duties where we live, and voluntarily maintain our own charge, and be thankful for our liberty as men and Christians to our good God, who in his providence has inspired many magistrates and ministers in your Province with a truer spirit of catholic charity than formerly. You have heard, or may be informed by Mr. Callender, of my foundation in Harvard college, and the provision I have made for Baptist youth to be educated for the ministry, and equally regarded with Pedobaptists. If you know any as may be duly qualified, inform me, and I shall be glad to recommend them for the first vacancy. And to close; while we profess to worship God nearer to the rule of primitive institution and practice of our great prophet and teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles, let our light so shine before men in all holy conversation, that such whose inclinations may be ready to speak evil of our way may be ashamed. May serious religion and godliness in the power of it flourish among us; every thing that goes in to make up the true Christian. Where the image of Christ is formed in any, I call them the excellent of the earth; with such I delight to associate and worship, whatever particular denomination they may go by among men;

men ; and this I would do till we all come into the unity of the faith, &c. Acts xx. 32.

Your loving friend,
THOMAS HOLLIS."

THIS I copied from the original letter ; and would just observe upon it, that the generality of parish rates here were only for the support of one way of worship, and not for the government, as he supposed. And further light about the conduct of that day may be gained from the following letter.

" *London, February 18, 1724-5.*

" *Dear Brother Callender,*

" I HAD the pleasure of yours by Capt. Lawrence, and am glad to hear of your welfare. May the Lord preserve your health and usefulness. I rejoice at the increase of your members, and the good prospect you have of more being added to your church, even of such who shall be saved. It is sweet encouragement to a poor labourer in Christ's vineyard, to find the Lord works with him ; and some visible instances of sovereign grace and love among his people make his drooping spirit revive and sing. May you have more of these, especially among the rising generation ; for it is a particular pleasure to see young ones look Zionward, and truly remember their Creator in the days of their youth ; though in this case we have always reason to rejoice with trembling, because so many who seemed to run well for a time, have been turned aside by youthful lusts (which war against the soul) to the wounding the hearts of their ministers, and the dishonor of Christ. I am sorry you have so much cause to complain, with us, of the great decay of the power and purity of religion. I am afraid this inquisitive age of professors spend too much time, and almost all their zeal, about matters of speculation, and neglect
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the closet and inward experimental religion too much. I observe by some letters and papers, by Capt. Lawrence, that there is a number of young men formed into a society at Boston, who have taken upon them the name of the Borean Society. It is a noble design to be wholly governed by scripture, and wish every professor had such a resolution. They seem to be in earnest about what they propose, and if any of their zeal, for any particular point in dispute among Christians, should flame too high, I am glad they are under your conduct, by which I hope they will be directed for their mutual edification, and the honor of truth. They will have some books contained in the catalogue sent soon, when I hope to write more particularly on this head. I met Capt. Lawrence at our honored friend Mr. Thomas Hollis's, where we had some particular discourse about your place and people, and how his bounty to your church was laid out. From the whole I apprehend Mr. Hollis was not displeased, but approved of what you had done, and hath been so good as to order the remaining part of the money for your own use; besides which he hath been pleased to send you a present of books. I have often, my dear friend, adored the divine goodness, in disposing this gentleman's mind to so much service for the interest of Christ in general, in New-England as well as Old; but especially for the providence by which such a gentleman came to the knowledge of our small interest in those Colonies, who had such a love to despised truth, as to own and encourage it in the face of so many and powerful opposers. It is this good providence, I apprehend, hath occasioned some persons to look favourably towards the baptized interest in Boston, and gives an encouraging view of greater advantage in years to come.

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His favours to you and yours hath doubtless been ungrateful to some of your neighbours, and perhaps some have been unkind and weak enough to design you a prejudice by some accounts given; but be in no pain for that, for Mr. Hollis is no stranger to the weakneses which good men are liable to; nor will he be easily persuaded into hard thoughts of any, notwithstanding their many weakneses, who in their general conduct have acquitted themselves like Christians and honest men; nor do any who attempt to draw his displeasure upon another person without good reason, do himself the least service thereby with Mr. Hollis. That the good will of him that dwelt in the bush may be with you and yours, is the hearty desire of your sincere friend and unworthy brother,

EDWARD WALLIN."

VII. In addition to his other donations, Mr. Hollis founded a professorship of the mathematics and experimental philosophy in Harvard college, in 1726, with a salary of Eighty Pounds a year to the professor; and he sent over an apparatus for the purpose, which cost about One Hundred and Fifty Pounds sterling, besides large additions to the college library*. And by a letter to Mr. Callender, from Gayhead, on Martha's Vineyard, of September 11, 1727, I find Jonas Horswet, an Indian minister, sending for some of the books he had received, and also mentioning Thomas Sekins, another Indian preacher at Nantucket, (see vol. 1, p. 438.) About this time four Baptists were seized for ministerial taxes in the country, and were cast into prison at Boston; but were soon released again by the special order of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer†. Near the same time there came

* Neal, vol. 2, p. 220, 221.

† Proctor's remonstrance in 1754.

came a letter from Springfield, signed by thirty men, directed to the Baptist church in Boston, requesting that their pastor might be sent up to labour among them. He went accordingly, and on July 23, 1727, baptized John Leonard, Ebenezer Leonard, William Scott, Abel Leonard, and Thomas Lamb, of Springfield, and Victory Sykes and Marcy Lawton, of Suffield. A letter to him dated July 19, signed Daniel Brewer, Ebenezer Devotion, Stephen Williams, Samuel Hopkins, Nehemiah Bull, blames him for not first coming to them, and says, "We cannot think, that preaching to or treating with particular persons in a private manner, to instil into them doctrines that *we think* are not according to truth and godliness, to be so Christian like; and we assure you is not what we expected from Mr. Callender, whatever we might have feared from some others." Mr. Devotion was minister in Suffield, and Bull in Westfield; the other three were of Springfield. When Mr. Callender went there again the next year, the three Springfield ministers wrote to enquire whether he came prepared for and expecting a public dispute about baptism. His answer was in these words:

"Springfield, September 17, 1728.

"Reverend Sir,

"It is not my custom and manner to go about the country to dispute and debate and wrangle with those that differ from me in opinion. It is well known that I am for peace with all men, and for Christians to live in love and charity; and for every man to act as he is fully persuaded in his own mind. But if you will not be quiet and easy, and will insist upon it that your people must hear what is to be said in opposition to what *I think contrary to truth*
and

and godliness, you may inform, Sir, your humble
servant,

ELISHA CALLENDER.

“*To the Reverend Mr. Daniel Brewer.*”

VIII. I FIND no answer to this.—Upon the receipt of their second charter, Dr. Cotton Mather said, “Religion is forever secured; a righteous and generous liberty of conscience established. And the General Assembly may, by their acts, give a *distinguishing* encouragement unto that religion which is the *general profession* of the inhabitants*.” And for thirty-six years they made no act to exempt either Baptists or Quakers from taxes to his party of ministers. The great earthquake was in the evening of October 29, 1727; and the Assembly that met the 22d of the next month passed the first act of exemption therefrom, that they ever did for any denomination. It was to impower every settled Episcopal minister to draw all the money which was assessed upon any of his society, who lived within five miles of his meeting, if they usually attended worship there; who were also to be exempted from taxes for building or repairing of meeting-houses for the established way. But it required each parish to make up to their ministers, within two months, all the money that might by their means be taken from them. The five mile limitation was dropt afterwards; and by an act in 1742, the minister and church-wardens were required to give certificates to each parish treasurer, where any of their society lived, in order for their drawing said money.

NOTHING is more amazing among men, than the influence which the love of power and gain has to blind their minds. The admission of the houses both of Orange and Hanover to the British throne,
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* Account of his father's life, p. 141. He himself died February 13, 1728, æt. 65.

was upon the principle that government is founded in compact. And the most essential article of the national compact was, that none should be taxed but by their own representatives. Yet because the representatives in this government refused to put it out of their power to give or withhold the salary demanded by the Crown, for Governors that they could have no choice in appointing or removing, an attempt was made in England to bring the case before the Parliament, and to take away our second charter. But Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, brother to the Lieutenant-Governor, published in London such a defence of our charter-rights in 1721, as, with other things, prevented it. Though in 1725 an explanatory charter was added, which deprived the representatives of power to put their own Speaker into office, without the consent of the Governor. These things were justly complained of, by those who daily practised a like iniquity themselves. For it is not more certain that America is not represented in the British Parliament, than it is that a quantity of *money* does not give any men a right to judge for their neighbours about soul-guides, and to enforce their judgments with the sword. Yet this was daily practised, to support teachers, that many who were taxed to them had no more voice in choosing, than said representatives had in their Governors. But as hot contentions still continued about the Governor's salary, and other dangers hung over them, when their Assembly met at Boston in May, 1728, they made a law,

“—THAT from and after the publication of this act, none of the persons commonly called Anabaptists, nor any of those called Quakers, that are or shall be enrolled or entered in their several societies as members thereof, and who alledge a scruple of conscience

conscience as the reason of their refusal to pay any part or proportion of such taxes, as are from time to time assessed for the support of the minister or ministers of the churches established by the laws of this Province, in the town or place where they dwell, shall have their polls taxed towards the support of such minister or ministers, nor shall their bodies be at any time taken in execution, to satisfy any such ministerial rate or tax, assessed upon their estates or faculty: Provided that such persons do usually attend the meetings of their respective societies, assembling upon the Lord's day for the worship of God, and that they live within five miles of the place of such meeting." The way prescribed for their being known, was for each county Court, at their next session after the first of June annually, to appoint meet persons of those societies, "To bring in a list, upon oath or solemn affirmation, of all persons within their respective towns or precincts, that profess themselves to be Anabaptists or Quakers, and usually attend their meetings as aforesaid, after which the clerk of the peace of the county shall give in to the assessors of each town or precinct a list of their names."

IX. HERE we may see that arbitrary power is always the same in nature, in every age, and every country. *Go ye, serve the Lord; only let your flocks and your herds be stayed*, said Pharaoh. Let their polls be exempted, but their estates and faculties be taxed, said the Massachusetts. Herein they imitated him; but in two other points they went beyond him. *Go not very far away*, said Pharaoh; go but five miles, said the Massachusetts; though many of their own parishioners, from that day to this, must go much further than that to meeting. Neither did Pharaoh require a list of the people
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upon oath, as these did. Little did Mr. Hollis know how his brethren here were treated. His friend Wheaton, who, as was before observed, with many of his society, lived within the bounds of Rehoboth, now hoped for some relief; and for that end applied to their next county Court; but were told by the judges, that said law did not take place that year. And for refusing to pay that year's tax to John Greenwood and David Turner, ministers of that town, twenty-eight Baptists, two Quakers, and two Episcopalians*, were seized and imprisoned at Bristol, by Jonathan Bosworth and Jacob Ormsbee, constables of Rehoboth; the main of them on March 3, 1729. Hereupon they sent a petition to Governor Burnet in Council; wherein they claimed charter rights, and mentioned the late declaration from England, that there was no national or provincial church established here, and the release of prisoners upon that footing; and that if relief was not granted to them, they soon expected the imprisonment of several Baptists and Quakers, of Taunton and Norton, on the same score. The Governor and Council, on March 8, gave their opinion, that said law did take place the preceding year; and ordered Seth Williams, Esq; Chief Judge of that county, to convene a number of Justices

* Obadiah Bowen, Azriakim Peirce, Jonathan Thurber, Jeremiah Ormsbee, Squire Wheeler, Daniel Bullock, Samuel Goff, Joseph Bowen, James Hicks, Seth Guernsey, Edmund Ingalls, Benjamin Ingalls, Ephraim Martin, Miel Peirce, Samuel Thurber, William Wheeler, Philip Wheeler, Gideon Hammond, Jeremiah Ormsbee, jun. Ephraim Martin, jun. John Jones, James Lewis, Thomas Horton, Richard Round, Jotham Carpenter, Samuel Bullock, Richard Bullock, Ephraim Wheaton, jun. Baptists; Henry Finch and John Hicks, Quakers; Samuel Carpenter and John Bowen, Episcopalians. Philip Wheeler was Colonel of the militia in that county afterwards. Wheaton was son to their minister.

Justices at Bristol, and to do all they lawfully could for the release of those prisoners. He convened some of them, but gave no relief to those men. Mr. Comer came and preached to them March 11. And as no other way appeared of deliverance from a nauseous place which had injured their health, but paying said taxes and costs, this was soon after done by their friends. However, lest further complaints should be carried to England, the Assembly at Boston, November 19, 1729, added an act to exempt their estates and faculties also; but "Under the same conditions and limitations that their polls were before." And it was not to exempt from any tax that was made, and then in collectors hands, nor to continue in force any longer than their May session, 1733.

X. AFTER the death of Governor Saltonstall, the Connecticut Assembly of October 8, 1724, elected Joseph Talcott, Esq; in his stead; under whose administration they enjoyed more liberty for seventeen years, than they had under his predecessor. Stephen Gorton was ordained, at New-London, pastor of the second Baptist church in Connecticut, November 28, 1726, by the assistance of their elders, Wightman of Groton, and Comer of Newport. And as Wightman was called to preach in Lyme, Mr. John Bulkly, a learned minister of Colchester, came and held a public dispute with him at Lyme, June 7, 1727, upon baptism and ministers support. The question concerning the latter point Wightman stated thus: "Whether ministers of the gospel ought to be maintained in the least, by goods taken away by force from men of contrary persuasions?" And he gave these reasons against that practice: "1. Because there is no precept nor precedent for so doing in the new
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testament. 2. Because so to do is what we would not be done unto ourselves. 3. Because the Lord requires only volunteers, and not forced men in his service." But Bulkly refused to dispute upon this footing, and shifted the question, to whether their way was lawful or not? And, after going far about, he said, "Lawful authority have a right to determine the undetermined modes of moral duties." To which Wightman said, "1. But they must always determine the mode in the order of morality, and so they may do to others, as they would they should do to them in like case. Now would you have the superior powers of England so to determine for you, that you may have liberty and only bear your own charges in this affair? 2. This point I think is not undetermined in scripture, which shews us no other way for the support of the gospel ministry, but what is from the free-will offerings of the people." And as Bulkly raked together many scandalous things that had been published against the Baptists, and then said, "They are but of yesterday, and so consequently the truth cannot be with them, as being not known in the world till about two hundred years past;" Wightman replied and said, "I never read of a Presbyterian longer than the said term; how then can the way of truth be with them? If you say, there were men of your principles many years before, I answer, that there were men professing the doctrines maintained by us long before that time*."

XI. THE May session of Connecticut Legislature, in 1729, passed an act in favour of Quakers, to exempt all from ministerial taxes, "Who do attend the worship of God in such way as is allowed, and shall produce a certificate from such society, of their having

* Bulkly, p. 132, 176. Wightman, p. 25, 28, 41.

having joined themselves to them, and that they do belong unto their society." At an association of Baptist churches at North-Kingstown, September 6, 1729, they drew a petition to the General Assembly of Connecticut, that their brethren who were scattered up and down in that Colony might be exempted from taxes to ministers and meeting-houses that they dissented from; which was signed by Richard Sweet, Valentine Wightman, Samuel Fisk, John Comer, elders, Timothy Peckom, Joseph Holmes, Ebenezer Cook, Benjamin Herenden, and other brethren, to the number of eighteen, one of whom was Thomas Durkee of Windham; to which was afterward added these lines, viz. "We the subscribers do heartily concur with the memorial of our brethren on the other side, and do humbly request the same may be granted, which we think will much tend to Christian unity, and be serviceable to true religion, and will very much rejoice your honors friends, and very humble servants,

JOSEPH JENCKS, Governor,

JAMES CLARK,

DANIEL WIGHTMAN,

} Elders.

"Newport, September 10, 1729."

HEREUPON the Assembly, who met at New-Haven, October 9, 1729, passed an act to allow the Baptists the same privileges as were granted to the Quakers the May before; both of them being perpetual laws, and not such temporary acts as the Massachusetts have perplexed themselves and others with. President Stiles informs me, that the Baptists in Saybrook were the first who took the benefit of this act. And a concise account of the affairs of the college he presides over shall close this chapter. Connecticut Legislature first granted a charter for it in 1701. It was then intended to be

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at Saybrook ; but after hot contentions, wherein a large and valuable part of their library was lost, it was settled at New-Haven in 1718. Elihu Yale, Esq; Governor of the East-India Company in London, made large donations to it, upon which it was called Yale College. In 1719, Mr. Timothy Cutler, minister at Stratford, was chosen Rector of it. But in September, 1722, he resigned that office, and went to England for Episcopal ordination, from whence he also received the title of D. D. and was a missionary many years in Boston. After his departure, Mr. Samuel Andrew, minister at Milford, presided at their commencements, until Mr. Elisha Williams, of Wethersfield, was chosen their Rector in 1725 ; which office he sustained with honor to himself, and advantage to others, till he resigned it on October 31, 1739, and removed back to Wethersfield ; which town he often represented in their Assembly, and was serviceable in other offices ; one of which was to go over as a special Agent for his Colony to England. Mr. Thomas Clap, of Windham, succeeded him in the college ; the government of which, by their first charter, was in the Trustees, who chose the Rector and Tutors. But by a more ample charter from their Legislature, dated May 9, 1745, their order was changed to that of, *The President and Fellows of Yale College, in New-Haven* ; whose number is twelve. The eleven Fellows are all settled ministers, who elect the President, and also their own members, when any of them resign, die, or are displaced ; seven of the Corporation being a quorum*.

C H A P.

* Douglass, vol. 2, p. 183—188.

C H A P. V.

- I. A general View of the Affairs of Rhode-Island Colony. 1. Of particular Errors therein. 3. Their civil State concisely described. 4. Their Order commended by Massachusetts Ministers. 5. Remarks thereon. 6. Account of the Rogerenes. 7. The same instructive to others.

I. **S**INCE the disorders in Rhode-Island Colony have often been recurred to, as a prevailing argument for supporting worship by tax and compulsion, the evil effects of which have had a great influence in continuing some of those disorders, an humble attempt shall here be made to search this matter to the bottom. And in the first place we are to remember, that the existence of that Colony, as a distinct government, was long an eye-fore to many of their neighbours; who tried a variety of mean and cruel methods to divide and conquer it. And Solomon says, surely oppression maketh a wise man mad; and none will pretend that all the inhabitants of that Colony were wise men: Yet all the mad-ness of their wise men, and all the ignorance and folly of others, have been industriously held up to the world, as a convincing proof of the necessity of an established religion by human laws. And as the terms learned and orthodox have been connected in
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this argument, colleges and persecution have grown up together in the ideas of multitudes ; and in not a few Calvinism, family worship, and a religious regard to the Christian sabbath, have gone into the same connexion. Notwithstanding it is most certain, that Mr. Williams, the founder of said Colony, and Mr. Clarke, who procured their second charter, were men of superior learning, and held strictly to the doctrines of sovereign grace, and to the duties of private and public worship ; as many other fathers of the Colony also did. But their children, as well as others, have been more ready to retain their errors than their virtues ; some of which I will name.

II. DAILY prayer to God for what we need, and praises for what we receive, are duties taught by reason as well as revelation ; and every person is *inexcusable* that neglects the *immediate* practice of those duties, Psalm cvii. 8, 15, 28, 43, Acts xvii. 27, Rom. i. 20, 21. But the ordinances of special communion in the Christian church, are only known by pure revelation, which requires previous personal qualifications before any may partake therein. But Mr. Williams, about the time of his banishment from the Massachusetts, blended these two kinds of duties so much together, as to oppose the inculcating of prayer upon the unregenerate, as well as the immediate practice of church communion : As if a criminal might not petition for help and mercy, nor give thanks for what he received, any more than to act in fellowship with his Prince before he was pardoned and reconciled. And casting off fear, and restraining prayer before God, is so exceeding natural to fallen men, that great numbers have held fast this error. Above three years after Mr. Williams was banished,

banished, he also stumbled upon another error, which many who reproach him are still tenacious of; namely, the opinion that ministerial authority must be derived by an external succession from inspired men. The confounding of the Jewish priesthood with the gospel ministry, is the source of this error. Upon their return from Babylon, those priests who could not produce a *register* of their succession from Aaron, were not suffered to officiate as such, until a new mission should be given from above, Ezra ii. 62, 63. And not finding a like register from the apostles, caused Mr. Williams to refrain from church communion in his latter days, though not from public worship. And how ready have many been from hence to excuse themselves in a careless neglect of all religion? To which Gorton's teaching and influence added great force. He had a singular knack at turning the scriptures into mist and allegory, under a pretence of great spirituality; and also at running down his opponents with satyr and ridicule; arts that have been very bewitching in latter ages. The coming and sufferings of Christ he held to be mystical, and not literal; and he treated the doctrine of visible instituted churches with the utmost contempt. Says he, "Such Pharisaical interpreters, who erect churches as true churches of God, that admit of decay, and falling from God, in whole or any members thereof, are they who have deceived and undone the world, from the foundation thereof unto this day, and are the proper *witches* of the world which the scripture intends." And he construed the mint, anise and cummin of the Pharisees, as applicable to all who practise the external administration of baptism,
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breaking of bread, and church censures*. He was a leader in public worship at Warwick for sixty years, by way of teaching, prayer and singing; but having no successor, furnished with his art, a neglect if not a contempt of public worship and of other religious duties has greatly prevailed in those parts, enforced with the remembrance of former cruelties shown to their fathers under religious pretences. And as Calvinism was the general plan of orthodoxy among their oppressors, the opposite sentiments more easily prevailed in most of the Baptist churches, though it was an apostasy from the doctrines they were founded upon. And running into extremes, on other accounts, increased their unhappiness. Being hardly accused with the want of valid administrators, moved seven Baptist churches, who met in London in 1643, to declare it as their faith, that by Christ's commission every disciple, who had a gift to preach the gospel, had a right to administer baptism, even before he was ordained in any church†. But it is to be observed, that Philip was an ordained officer in the church before he baptized the young believers at Samaria; while none but apostles laid on hands after baptism, both there and at Ephesus; and which was attended with extraordinary effects in each place, Acts viii. 14, 17, xix. 6. Yet Mr. Samuel Hubbard informs us, that in 1652 the practice was adopted, first at Providence, and then at Newport, of gifted disciples administering both baptism and laying on of hands, who were not ordained officers in any church; which practice was continued by some for many years after. In 1725 the second church in Swansey voted to make laying on of hands a term of their communion: Perhaps

* Gordon's antidote against Pharisaical teachers, p. 42, 52.

† Crosby, vol. 1, appendix, p. 21.

haps others had done so before. Many contentions and divisions were caused by these things, which greatly obstructed gospel order in their churches. But as the Christian church is the pillar and ground of the truth, and baptism is the initiating ordinance thereof, it surely must belong to her, especially at ordinary times, to set men apart to administer it.

INTERNAL right, and an external warrant to exercise it, are distinct things. Every renewed soul has an internal right to the special privileges of the church of Christ; and those to whom he has given special gifts for the ministry, have an internal right to improve them; but a person must be received as an orderly member of a particular church in order to his acting as such; and those who are qualified for officers ought to be set apart as such before they baptize others. This is now generally allowed. Both scripture and reason plainly shew, that actions may be done in extraordinary cases, which ought not in ordinary times.

III. As to their civil affairs, the first charter of Providence Colony extended to the Pequot river and country, that is, into the heart of New-London county; and it was given eighteen years before Connecticut charter. And the second charter to Rhode-Island Colony was given by the same authority which gave that of Connecticut; and this authority fixed the line betwixt them in a most explicit manner: Yet Connecticut made a practice of violently crowding over that line for above sixty years after they received their charter. In 1720 Governor Jencks was sent over Agent to England for help against them. At length, on September 27, 1728, Roger Wolcott, James Wadsworth, and Daniel Palner, Commissioners for Connecticut, and Wil-

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liam Wanton, Benjamin Ellery, and William Jencks, for Rhode-Island, signed a settlement of that line. The south part is exactly according to Rhode-Island charter; the north part bears a little east thereof. Plymouth Colony was only a voluntary combination among themselves, as to government; though they were allowed to continue so till the revolution. And Rhode-Island charter was given twenty-eight years before Plymouth was incorporated with the Massachusetts; yet the line on that side was never established, until it was done by a special commission in 1741, according to the oldest charter*; which gave Rhode-Island the towns of Little-Compton, Tiverton, Bristol, Warren, Barrington, and Cumberland, that they had not enjoyed before (vol. 1, p. 347, 350.) The history of their civil government may properly be divided into four periods. Before the revolution of 1688, parties both on secular and religious accounts caused much unhappiness. From thence to 1732 their government was in wise and steady hands; so that they had but two Governors in thirty-four years. Afterwards a depreciating paper currency, with bribery in elections, produced many and great evils; a sight of which moved the two competitors for the office of Governor amicably to give up their pretensions, and to prevail with a very peaceable gentleman to accept the chair in 1769. Since then bribery and party influence have been better guarded against. And can any or all of these things afford the least reason against equal liberty, or for the use of compulsion in the support of worship? Yea, have not our opponents given evidence to the contrary in that Colony? The first Congregational church therein was formed at Newport, and Mr. Nathanael

* Douglass, vol. 1, p. 400, vol. 2, p. 95.

Nathanael Clap, from Dorchester, was ordained their pastor, November 3, 1720. He was a man of eminent piety, who began to preach there in 1695, and was a great blessing among them till his death, on October 30, 1745, æt. 78; for whom Mr. John Callender preached and printed a funeral sermon. Mr. Clap was a hearty friend to the primitive order of their churches: But Mr. John Adams, a young teacher of the modern stamp, gained the affections of a large part of his church; and because Mr. Clap could not consent to his settling as colleague with him, nor break bread to a number of the members, a party council divided the church, and the young minister was ordained over a majority, April 11, 1728; so that Mr. Clap was shut out of his meeting-house, and his people built another for him. The third Congregational church in that Colony was constituted at Providence, over which Mr. Josiah Cotton was ordained, October 23, 1728*. Some things previous to this last event call for a place in our history. After considerable labours in Providence for it, the Massachusetts ministers sent them the following letter.

“ IV. *To the Honorable Joseph Jencks, Esq; late Deputy-Governor, William Hopkins, Esq; Major Joseph Williams, Joseph Whipple, Esq; Colonel Richard Waterman, Arthur Venner, Esq; ——— Wilkinson, Esq; Philip Tillinghast, Esq; Capt. Nicholas Power, Capt. Thomas Harris, Capt. William Harris, Andrew Harris, Esq; ——— Brown, Esq; John Burton, Jonathan Sprague, jun. Esq; and to the other eminent men in the town of Providence†: Pardon our ignorance,*

* Comer's diary and papers. In less than two years Adams was dismissed by his church, and not recommended.

† I am well informed, that Jencks (newly returned from his agency in England) Hopkins, Williams, Venner, Tillinghast, Power,

rance, if any of your honorable Christian names, or if your proper order be mistaken.

“HONORABLE GENTLEMEN,

“WE wish you grace, mercy and peace, and all blessings for time and eternity, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. How pleasing to Almighty God and our glorious Redeemer, and how conducive to the public tranquility and safety, an hearty union and good affection of all pious Protestants of whatsoever particular denomination on account of some differences in opinion would be, by the divine blessing, yourselves as well as we are not insensible. And with what peace and love societies of different modes of worship have generally entertained one another in your government, we cannot think of it without admiration; and we suppose, under God, it is owing to the choice liberty granted to Protestants of all persuasions, in the royal charter graciously given you; and to the wise and prudent conduct of the gentlemen that have been improved as Governors and Justices in your Colony. And the Rev. Mr. Greenwood, before his decease at Rehoboth, was much affected with the wisdom and excellent temper, and great candour of such of yourselves as he had the honor to wait upon, and with those worthy and obliging expressions of kind respect he met with, when he discoursed about his desires to make an experiment, whether the preaching of our ministers in Providence might not be acceptable, and whether some who do not greatly incline to frequent any pious meeting in the place, on the first day of the week, might not be drawn to

Power, Richard Brown, and Sprague, were all Baptists; Whipple, an Episcopalian; Waterman, Samuel Wilkinson, Burton, and the Harris's, were Friends.

to give their presence to hear our ministers, and so might be won over (by the influence of heaven) into serious godliness. And although God has taken that dear brother of ours from his work in this world, yet it has pleased the Lord to incline some reverend ministers of Connecticut, and some of ours, to preach among you*; and we are beholden to the mercy of heaven for the freedom and safety they have enjoyed, under the wise and good government of the place, and that they met with kind respect, and with numbers that gave a kind reception to their ministrations among them. These things we acknowledge with all thankfulness; and if such preaching should be continued among your people (designed only for the glory of God and Christ Jesus in chief, and nextly for the promoting of the spiritual and eternal happiness of immortal souls, and the furtherance of a joyful account in the great day of judgment) we earnestly request, as the Rev. Mr. Greenwood, in his lifetime, did before us, that yourselves, according to your power, and the interest and influence that God has blessed you with, will continue your just protections; and that you add such further countenance and encouragement thereunto, as may be pleasing to the eternal God, and may, through Christ Jesus, obtain for you the greater reward in heaven. And if ever it should come to pass, that a small meeting-house should be built in your town, to entertain such as are willing to hear our ministers, we should count it a great favour, if you all, gentlemen, or any of yours, would please to build pews therein, in which you and they (as often as you see fit) may give your and their presence and holy attention. And we hope and pray,
that

* Mr. Moody, of York, with as much power as any.

that ancient matters (that had acrimony unhappily in them) may be buried in oblivion; and that grace and peace, and holiness and glory, may dwell in every part of New-England; and that the several Provinces and Colonies in it may love one another with pure hearts fervently. So recommending you all, and your ladies, and children, and neighbours, and people, to the blessing of heaven, and humbly asking your prayers to the divine throne for us, we take leave to subscribe ourselves your friends and servants,

PETER THATCHER,
JOHN DANFORTH,
JOSEPH BELCHER,

} Committee of the
Association*.

“Dated October 27, 1721.”

V. THE town of Providence sent them an answer, dated February 23, 1722, signed in their name by Jonathan Sprague; wherein they say, “We take notice how you praise the love and peace that dissenters of all ranks entertain one another with, in this government.—We answer, this happiness principally consists in their not allowing societies any superiority one over another; but each society supports their own ministry, of their own free-will, and not by constraint or force, upon any man’s person or estate; and this greatly adds to our peace and tranquility. But the contrary, that takes any man’s estate by force, to maintain their own or any other ministry, it serves for nothing but to provoke to wrath, envy and strife. And since you wrote this letter, the constable of Attleborough has been taking away the estates of our dear friends and pious dissenters, to maintain their minister; the like hath been done in Mendon. Is this the way of peace! Is this the fruit of your love! Why do you hug the iniquity

* Ministers in Boston, Dorchester and Dedham.

iniquity of Eli's sons, and walk in the steps of the false prophets, to bite with your teeth, and cry peace, but no longer than men put into your mouths but you prepare war against them?—You desire that all former injury, done by you to us, may be buried in oblivion. We say, far be it from us to revenge ourselves, or to deal to you as you have dealt to us, but rather say, Father forgive them, they know not what they do. But if you mean, that we should not speak of former actions, done hurtfully to any man's person, we say, God never called for that, nor suffered it to be hid, as witnesses Cain, Joab and Judas, are kept on record to deter other men from doing the like." A reply hereto was printed at Boston, dated September 7, 1722, which did not pretend to deny the facts here mentioned; but made a great flourish upon a *word*, which was not in their first printed letter, but was the error of the press in a second edition; and then took occasion from what they said about recording hurtful actions to publish a copy of a sentence of Court against Sprague in Boston, April 28, 1674, "For reproaching and scandalizing the magistrates, and for lascivious carriage." And it insinuated that their complaints about persecution were because of such sufferings as this.

SENSIBLE how the populace had been deceived by such arts, Sprague wrote a rejoinder, dated January 24, 1723, in which he makes some apology for taking notice of such an anonymous reviling piece, which profanely sets the Court records of Boston upon a level with God's infallible record concerning Cain and Judas; and informs us that one of the two witnesses against him, in that case at Boston, was afterwards brought to repentance, and joined to the Baptist church he belonged to in Providence;

Providence; when she asked and received his forgiveness, for wronging him in her testimony in that case. He also observes, that the affair was in his early days, before he made a profession of religion, when he really was a vile sinner. And for the satisfaction of serious people he says,

*“ My youthful walk I'll not commend,
Nor go about it to defend;
But to God's glory do confess,
I liv'd in sin and wickedness.
Until God's love to me appear'd,
His dreadful wrath I greatly fear'd;
But when I hear'd Christ's lovely voice,
My heart within me did rejoice,
That he for sinners freely dy'd,
That sinners might be justify'd;
That all such sinners he would save,
As mercy of him humbly crave;
And do obey his holy will,
As 'tis declar'd in his gospel;
So on his grace do I now rest,
And so must all that shall be blest.”*

“ BUT lastly, why do you strive to persuade the rising generation, that you never persecuted nor hurt the Baptists? Did you not barbarously scourge Mr. Obadiah Holmes, and imprison John Hazel, of Rehoboth, who died and came not home? And did you not barbarously scourge Mr. Baker, in Cambridge, the chief mate of a London ship? Where also you imprisoned Mr. Thomas Gould, John Ruffel, Benjamin Sweetser, and many others, and fined them Fifty Pounds a man. And did you not take away a part of the said Sweetser's land, to pay his fine, and conveyed it to Solomon Phips, the Deputy-Governor Danforth's son-in-law, who after
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by the hand of God ran distracted, dying suddenly, saying he was bewitched? And did you not nail up the Baptist meeting-house doors, and fine Mr. John Miles, Mr. James Brown, and Mr. Nicholas Tanner?—Surely I can fill sheets of paper with the sufferings of the Baptists, as well as others, within your precincts; but what I have mentioned shall suffice for the present.” Mr. Sprague preached for many years to a small society of Baptists in that which is now the east part of Smithfield; and died in January, 1741, æt. 93. Mr. Comer knew him, and speaks of him as a very judicious and pious man.

VI. As a further proof of the evil effects of coercive measures about religious worship, I shall here add some account of John Rogers, of New-London, and his followers, who are briefly described in vol. 1, p. 473—480. He intermixed a number of precious truths, with many things of a contrary nature. Governor Leete well observed, in a letter there published, that if Rogers and his party had been Governors in Connecticut, it might be doubted whether they would have allowed people so much liberty in keeping the first day of the week as a sabbath, as the government there allowed to him and his followers in the opposite way. For Rogers imagining that the law which required the keeping of that day established idolatry, was as zealous to pull it down, as the Jews were against idols in old times. And the sufferings which he met with, for his zeal about this and other religious matters, seemed to be his life; until, to shew how strong his faith was, he went to Boston, and among the infection of the small-pox there; but caught it, came home and died with it, and caused the death of some others thereby. This many might think

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was quite enough to open the eyes of his followers ; but it was far from doing it. Perhaps they might think he was taken away in judgment to them, for their coldness and negligence. Certain it is that Joseph Bolles now published a second edition of Rogers's book, intituled, "A midnight cry from the temple of God to the ten virgins slumbering and sleeping ; awake, awake, arise, and gird your loins, and trim your lamps, for behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye therefore out to meet him !" Bolles wrote a preface to it, in which he says of the author, "For his religion he lost his wife and children, and suffered continual persecution, being near one third of his lifetime, after his conversion, in prisons. And in the 73d year of his age, he died in his own house, at New-London, 1721." Hereupon his son, and others of that sect, set out afresh in zealous attempts to pull down the idol-sabbath ; and as a number of them came into Norwich, in their way to Lebanon, on a first day, having things with them to discover that they were upon worldly business, and meant to appear against having that day kept as a sabbath, they were seized by authority ; and on July 26, 1725, they were brought before Joseph Backus, Justice of the Peace, who fined them according to law ; and refusing to pay it, they were whipped.

VII. GOVERNOR Jencks being informed of their sufferings, and that it was because they were going to Lebanon to worship, and to administer baptism, wrote a paper, giving some account thereof, as a warning to people against the Presbyterian sect, and set it up in a public place in Providence. The Justice having obtained a copy of that paper, published an answer to it ; a manuscript reply to which, in the Governor's own hand writing, is before

before me. He does not pretend to reply to it all; for says he, "Such unchristian-like behaviour, in giving them disturbance when at their public worship, if true, may justly be condemned by all sober people, and is that which never entered into my thoughts to justify in John Rogers, or any other man." But says the Governor, "It is very well known, to all the elderly inhabitants of Providence, that the Presbyterian governments in New-England in general, and Connecticut in particular, have for a long time been using their utmost skill and endeavours to bring the greatest part if not all this little Colony under their rule and government. But finding themselves disappointed in the several measures they have hitherto taken, they are now (as is supposed by many others as well as myself) about to try one artifice more in order to obtain their desire; and that is by sending in their ministers among us, under a pretence of doing good to souls; whereas the design chiefly is, to gain such a party as may be sufficient to over-vote us in our elections, and so to gain the rule over us."

EXPERIENCE has since given much greater light about these things than was then enjoyed in the country. In 1758 the Rogerenes published an abstract of the history of ancient persecutions in New-England, with high encomiums upon those Quakers who returned and were hanged at Boston, after they had been banished on pain of death; and a reproof to their own society and others for their declension from that temper and spirit. Many were hereby stirred up to travel from town to town, and to interrupt others in their worship, especially in the year 1763. But when they did so, at Norwich and other places, the authority removed them away until their worship was ended, and then released them, without

without fine or correction; which had a much better effect than their former punishments. Indeed in New-London, where most of them lived, Mr. Mather Byles was so uneasy at their surrounding his gate, and calling him a hireling, that in 1768 he made a bitter complaint that their laws were not put in full execution against said people; and for this and other reasons he resigned his pastoral charge there, and went off to Episcopacy. About which time, a number of the Rogerenes were seized in a clandestine way, and were scourged in a most barbarous manner; for which may all the actors or abettors thereof be brought to true repentance! An instance or two of late suicide among the members of the Rogerene church, gave a great shock to the rest; and a number of their children are now become agreeable members of other communities. And if all persons and societies were impartially protected by authority, and none but spiritual weapons were made use of, and they with due faithfulness, to propagate and support the Christian religion, who can tell how happy the effects would soon be?

C H A P. VI.

1. The Succession of Ministers in Newport.
2. Comer becomes a Baptist, and is successful there.
3. Attempts for a like Reformation in Providence.
4. Villainy detected at Swanzev.
5. Hollis and Wallin's Death.
6. State of the Baptist Churches.
7. New ones formed, with the Ordination and Decease of fundry Elders.

I. **S**OME revival of religion among the Baptists, as well as opposition thereto, is now to be described. Mr. John Clark was a chief leader in forming the first Baptist church in Newport, in 1644; and he continued their pastor until his decease, April 20, 1676. Mr. Obadiah Holmes succeeded him in that office, and died October 15, 1682. Near three years after Mr. Richard Dingley, from Britain by the way of Boston, became their pastor. An address of his to the church is before me, wherein he describes the duty of a pastor to his people, and of a people to their pastor, in a clear scriptural light. About 1694 he left that church and went to Boston, and from thence to South-Carolina. After his departure they had only occasional supplies till 1710, when they elected Mr. William Packom for their pastor, in whose ordination Elder Luther
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of Swanzeſey aſſiſted. In 1718; Mr. Daniel White, from Mr. Wallin's church in London, was choſen for a colleague with Elder Packom: But as he was a ſtrict Calviniſt, diſputes ſoon aroſe about doctrines, which were greatly increaſed by a leader in the church, who was an aſſign of Mr. Clark's eſtate, and unfaithful in his truſt. Councils were called from Boſton and Swanzeſey upon it; and the Legiſlature of the Colony were moved to put him out of that office, and to put another man into it; though upon further ſearch they ſaw that this was not in their power. Therefore in 1721 they made a law, which requires all men who are entrusted with charitable donations annually to give an account of their proceedings therein to their Town-Council, which is ſtill in force. But a ſeparation took place in that church, and White adminiſtered to one party for ſeveral years, till it diſſolved, and he went to Philadelphia in 1728. A difference in ſentiments about laying on of hands, and ſome other things, cauſed the riſe of the ſecond church in Newport, about the year 1656; and Mr. William Vaughan was their firſt miniſter, who died in 1677, and was ſucceeded by Thomas Baker, and he by John Harden, who died in 1700. In 1701 James Clarke was ordained their paſtor, by the aſſiſtance of the Elders Pardon Tillinghaſt and John Brown of Providence. In 1704 Daniel Wightman was ordained a colleague with him; and they were ſucceſſful, and much eſteemed in their places to old age.

II. Mr. Comer, before mentioned, being at ſchool at Cambridge, joined to the firſt church there in February, 1723. Ephraim Crafts, his intimate friend, had joined to the Baptiſt church in Boſton juſt before. This Comer thought was a very wrong

wrong action, and took the first opportunity he had to try to convince him of it : But, after a considerable debate, Comer was prevailed with to take and read Stennett upon baptism, which gave him quite other views of the subject than he ever had before. However he concluded to be silent about it ; and as education was the cheapest at New-Haven, he went and entered the college there in September, 1723, and continued a member of it until October, 1724 ; when infirmity of body caused his return by water to Boston ; and a terrible storm at sea, with the death of a peculiar friend just as he arrived, brought eternity so directly before him, as to spoil all his plausible excuses for the neglect of baptism. He informs us that those words of Christ, *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels*, had such influence upon him, that, after proper labours with those he was previously connected with, he was baptized and joined to the Baptist church in Boston, January 31, 1725 ; and concluded to pursue his studies in a private way. Four months after he was called to preach the gospel ; and on May 19, 1726, he was ordained a pastor of the first church in Newport, colleague with Elder Packom ; and a great blessing was granted upon his ministry in that town. Their first church had but seventeen members when he came there ; to whom thirty-four were added in less than three years. And says Comer, “ There was no public singing until I came, and by the blessing of heaven introduced it.” Neither had they any church records, before he got a book, and collected into it the best accounts that he could obtain of their former

former affairs*. Out of a manuscript written by their first pastor, he transcribed the confession of faith mentioned in our vol. 1, p. 255. For his support he received £ 85 in 1726, £ 93 12 4 in 1727 ; but not a third part of this last sum in 1728, because two leading members of the church, who disliked his close and searching ministrations, had influence enough to turn a great part of the society against him. At length Comer gave them an occasion, which they eagerly made use of, to croud him out of his office in that church ; for, without giving them any previous notice, he on November 17, 1728, preached up the laying on of hands upon every member as a Christian duty, though not as a term of communion. Upon the close of that year he says, " This has been a year of great exercise to

* He was very curious and exact also in recording other events. He observes that the year 1727 was a year of many remarkable occurrences. It was so for the death of rulers. King George I. died June 11 ; and in Rhode-Island Colony the Hon. Edward Thurston, one of their Council [father of the present pastor of the second church in Newport] died in April ; Governor Cranston April 26 ; Deputy-Governor Nichols, who was elected in May, died in July. From July 28 to August 7 the heat was so intense as to cause the death of many. Through the three first nights in August the lightnings were constant and amazing. On September 26 was a terrible hurricane ; and a more terrible earthquake October 29, which was followed with a smaller one in the morning of January 28, 1728. He first mentions the northern lights, in the evening of July 16, 1728, which were much greater on October 2 following. Dean Berkley arrived at Newport January 23, with whom Comer had an interview July 14, 1729. Governor Burnet came to Newport, in his way to Boston, July 12, 1728, and died at Boston September 7, 1729. Several persons were baptized by way of immersion by Episcopalian ministers, as Mr. Carpenter by Mr. Usher of Bristol, January, 1725. Nathaniel Brown, and four others at Rehoboth, by Mr. Piggot of Providence, in July, 1726. A woman at Newport, by Dr. M'Sparran, of Narraganset, in November, 1728.

to me. I have been as it were in the furnace of affliction. The difficulty in my flock has been heart-wounding, and sometimes almost confounding: But I see God's grace is sufficient for me. I am fully and clearly convinced that I should have fallen into many hurtful evils, if sovereign grace had not wonderfully prevented. Bless the Lord O my soul.—About this time I found my people so uncomfortable that we must divide from each other, which was exceeding grievous to me."

JANUARY 8, 1729, Mr. Comer was dismissed from said church; and the next day he says, "I passed under hands by Mr. Daniel Wightman, and offered for transient communion until spring, or till I saw how God in his holy providence might dispose of me." A revival of religion in that second church in Newport began the fall before; and as Elder Clarke was above 80, and unable to preach, Mr. Comer was received to preach one half of the Lord's days with Elder Wightman for two years. And above forty members were added to that church before he left it; which was the greatest increase they had ever received in such a length of time, at the close whereof they had one hundred and fifty communicants, being the largest church in the Colony. For Comer's support the society gave him £129 in 1729, and £144 12 10 in 1730. As Newport was the head town of the government, Governor Jencks went and lived there, in order more conveniently to attend upon the duties of his office; where he joined in worship and communion with said church; wherein Mr. Comer also now introduced regular records, which they lacked before. And as Mr. John Walton, a young gentleman of a liberal education, was invited to preach at Providence, where a like reformation

tion might be hoped for, in the church whereof the Governor was a principal member, and opposition was raised against it, he wrote the following letter to Mr. James Brown, their pastor.

III. "*Newport, March 19, 1730.*

"*Beloved Brother,*

"I AM heartily sorry to hear of the difference in our church at Providence, about Mr. Walton's coming to settle there; as also for the unkind treatment he there met with from some, especially considering he came not there with a design to impose himself upon the church, but at the request of several of the brethren. And why his coming there should be so strenuously opposed, as I understand it is, I cannot conceive. As to his singing of psalms, I have heard him say, he would not urge that as a duty upon the church. And if it were for that he might expect some allowance, by way of contribution, for his support, it most certainly is an error in those who oppose that as a thing unlawful: For I think the scriptures are very clear in that point, that it is not only lawful for a minister or elder that preaches the gospel to receive (by way of contribution) a competent maintenance, but also the duty of the church, according to their ability, to afford it to him; and this I doubt not but I can fully prove by scripture against all contradiction. And I believe there are several of my brethren who can remember, that Elder Tillinghast (in his lifetime) who was a man exemplary for his doctrine, as well as of an unblemished character, did several times in his teaching declare, that it was the duty of a church to contribute towards the maintenance of their elders, who laboured in the word and doctrine of Christ; and although for his own part he would take nothing, yet it remained the church's duty

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to be performed to such as might succeed him. And as to what Mr. Walton holds with respect to laying on of hands upon believers as such, I do not understand by him that he opposes it any other ways, than if it be performed for the obtaining the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost : But he thinks it ought not to be any bar to communion with those who have been rightly baptized. And as I have been informed, by one or more of the ancient members of our church at Providence, that such was the opinion of the Baptists, in the first constitution of their churches, throughout this Colony ; and that such as were under laying on of hands continued their fellowship with those that were not, until one who was in great repute for wisdom amongst them did in his teaching declare, that the doctrine of laying on of hands was a doctrine of devils, upon which a separation was made : And as I was informed when in England the separation there was upon some such like occasion. But further, as to Mr. Walton's receiving, by way of contribution, if the church in Providence can freely hold fellowship with him, and do account he may be serviceable to them in preaching, as well as instrumental of doing good to others ; I cannot imagine why any one should oppose his receiving some allowance for his labour, from such as are free to give it, none being under any compulsion ; for I think it highly rational, if he leaves his own home, where he can, by overseeing the management of his farm, live honorably, and removes to Providence purely to serve his brethren, that they should consider him accordingly.

I am, with due regard, Sir,

your affectionate Christian Brother,

JOSEPH JENCKS."

ELDER

ELDER Brown was of his mind ; but Deacon Samuel Winfor took the lead of a party, who were resolutely set against what the Governor had proposed. A Council was called there, September 3, 1731, who advised them not to divide upon it ; but at a meeting in October, Winfor and his party were for censuring Walton as a transgressor, for joining in prayer with Baptists who were not under hands. Elder Brown reasoned with them upon it, and said, " If we admonish brother Walton and set him apart, what will you do with others who hold that point as he does, as Elder Clarke, Elder Wightman, the Governor, and some others ? " Their answer was, " That we must go through with it. " And Elder Peter Place, of Smithfield, came and assisted in making an open separation in Providence church upon these points. And Winfor taught publicly, " That all those who took any thing for preaching were like Simon Magus. " This account is taken from original writings of Elder Brown and others, now before me. And as he died October 28, 1732, æt. 66*, Winfor's party prevailed, and ordained him as the minister of that church. Walton quitted the ministry, and followed other employments, whereby many were confirmed in their prejudices against him and his sentiments.

IV. PERHAPS a concise account of a piece of villainy, which was now detected at Swanzey, may be

* He was grandson to Chad Brown, one of the first planters of Providence ; and son to John Brown, who was elected into their Council in 1665, and was afterwards an elder in Providence church. From Elder James Brown's son James sprang the four brothers who are now very noted traders in Providence, and great promoters of learning, and of the Baptist cause there. Said elder's son Elisha was Deputy-Governor of the Colony in 1765, and his son Andrew was Justice of Peace in the State, and long an exemplary Christian in the Baptist church in Gloucester, until he died in peace, 1782.

be of service, to warn all others against doing the like. That town was first granted to five men, three of whom were Baptists; and they laid out sundry parcels of land, which they called pastors and teachers lots. They had a large and curious book of church records, which was brought from Wales; and the surveys of those lots were recorded therein. Barrington was originally included in Swanzey, and when it became a distinct town, they had their share of those lots for Pedobaptist ministers. In 1718 Richard Harden became both a deacon and the clerk of the first church in Swanzey; and was encouraged to build and make improvements upon one of those lots, near their meeting-house; and he was also a leading man in town affairs. Having such advantages, he was tempted with a notion, that by destroying the records of those lots, he could obtain that whereon he lived as common land. And behold! all the records of Swanzey church, betwixt 1663 and 1718 were taken out of the book, and have never been recovered since! When the church came to know it, as the government was in the hands of Pedobaptists, they invited Barrington to join with them in suing for their rights, with an offer, that if they would be at proportionable expence, they should have two fifths of what they recovered. The offer was accepted, and Harden was sued by a writ of ejectment, at the County Court, in July, 1730, and was cast. He appealed to the Superior Court in September; but was also cast there. By a reference the next year he obtained £ 125 for what he had done upon the land, and was obliged to quit it; and he took to keeping loose company, and drinking to excess. Elder Wheaton, and a large part of his church, had been desirous of settling Mr. Comer with him, before Comer went to
Newport,

Newport, but Harden's influence prevented it. O what is man when left to himself!

V. THE pious and liberal Mr. Hollis died in 1731: When the news of it arrived, Dr. Coleman preached a funeral sermon for him, before the General Court at Boston, April 1; which was published by their order. The two Professors upon his foundations in the college each published a discourse upon the occasion, and President Wadsworth wrote a preface thereto. Professor Wigglesworth says, "By his frequent and ample benefactions, for the encouragement of theological as well as human knowledge among us, who are Christians of a different denomination from himself, he hath set such an example of a generous, catholic and Christian spirit, as hath never before fallen within my observation, nor, so far as I now remember, within my reading." Dr. Coleman says, "That which is singular in the piety and benefits of Mr. Hollis, unto these churches, was, that though he was not strictly of our way, nor in judgment with us in the point of infant baptism, yet his heart and hand was the same to us, as if we had been one in opinion and practice with him. And in this let him stand a teaching pattern and example to us, of a noble, Christian, apostolic spirit of love; which makes those that differ in lesser matters to receive one another to the glory of God, and a shining testimony against a narrow party spirit, which is so much the disgrace and detriment of the Protestant interest, and which so early began among the apostles of Jesus, and was rebuked by him, even in John himself, that apostle of love and charity afterwards, who once said to Christ in a fret of zeal, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us, and we forbid him, because he followeth not us: But Jesus

Jefus faid, forbid him not*.” We fhall have occafion to remember this hereafter. In the mean time, the laft letter that I have feen from Mr. Hollis’s intimate friend discovers fo much of the views and comforts of Chriftianity, in a near fight of mortality, that I fhall annex it to the foregoing account. It was directed to Mr. Elisha Callender.

“ *London, November 10, 1732.*

“ *Dear Sir,*

“ I READILY own that it was my turn to have wrote to you long before now; but the long and threatening illnefs under which I have laboured, for more than twelve months paft, have fo reduced me, both in flefh and fpirit, that I have been incapable great part of the time of writing; which will I hope plead my excufe with you. I am, through divine goodnefs, able to preach once a day on Lord’s days, but hardly ever expect to get over my indisposition. It is a wonder to the docters, and all others who faw my cafe, that I am alive. I could not for feveral months but expect to be removed; but bleffed be the Lord, I had a comfortable profpect of another world, and was rather grieved than pleased at the view of a return into this. Here methinks is nothing pleasant to the mind, but rather every thing fulying and difcompozing: Why then fhould not thofe who have tafted divine grace, long to ftretch and fwim in the immense ocean? How fweet is a drop here, therefore how ravifhing muft the full enjoyment be! But Lord grant faith and patience, to wait thy time, even thy time, O Lord. I am glad to hear the baptized intereft thrives, and wifh that the power of religion were in a more flourishing condition with you than it is with us; for furely Jacob is fmall and low. We have many
controversies

* Crosby, vol. 4, p. 213—229.

controversies agitated, which seem to put a stop to the growth of pure religion and the power of godliness among us. National vice gains strength, but vital religion is declined to a mere skeleton; yet the Lord's arm is not shortened. Humble service attends you, from your affectionate, though at present afflicted friend and servant,

EDWARD WALLIN."

VI. ALL his letters that I publish are carefully copied from the originals now in my hands. He finished his course with joy, in his 55th year, June 12, 1733*. To return to our own history, I would observe, that Rhode-Island Colony was first divided into three counties, in June, 1729; and in February, 1730, Providence was divided into the towns of Providence, Smithfield, Gloucester, and Scituate. There were thirteen Baptist churches, most of them small, who now held annual associations to promote discipline and communion among them, upon the six principles in Hebrews vi. viz. one in Providence, the second in Newport, two in Smithfield, the second in Swanzey, and one in each of the towns of Dartmouth, Warwick, North-Kingstown, South-Kingstown, Scituate, Groton, New-London and New-York. The two in Connecticut had introduced singing in public worship, to promote which their Elder Wightman published a little pamphlet; but it was opposed by many among other churches. One church in Newport held the keeping of the seventh day sabbath as a bar of communion, and refused to assist in ordaining Mr. Comer in 1726, on that account. Mr. Mumford, who first led them into that principle, introduced singing among them in 1677. In that, and in their sister church at Westerly, Comer says
were

* Ibid. page 394.

were now about one hundred and forty communicants; and also that general redemption was held by the majority of all those fifteen churches. The first church in Newport had now about fifty members, the first in Swanzey two hundred, and their sister church in Boston eighty. These held to particular election, and did not make laying on of hands a bar of communion, and sang in public worship; and the above named were all the Baptist churches then extant, north of New-Jersey.

VII. MR. Comer had held a correspondence by letter with ministers in New-Jersey for several years; and in March, 1731, he went there by water, and visited their churches in Middletown, Piscataqua, Cohansey, &c. He went as far as Philadelphia; and upon his return declared great satisfaction, in the sight he had of the faith and order of those churches. On July 3 he said, "I desired and obtained a dismission from the church where I had preached more than two years, because I was never settled there, and found that some could not bear my preaching the doctrines of grace." In August he removed to Rehoboth, where on January 1, 1732, he said, "I begin a new year, in a new place, but not in a new employment; for my delight of soul is in serving my dear Redeemer in the sacred work of the ministry; which I prefer and esteem above and beyond every thing else; though I acknowledge unfit and unworthy in myself. Lord, who is sufficient for these things! My sufficiency is alone of God, in whom I rest and rely continually. January 20, a Baptist church was gathered in Rehoboth; and January 26 I was publicly installed pastor of it. Elder Ephraim Wheaton of Swanzey preached from 1 Thess. v. 12, 13, and gave me the right hand of fellowship." And a precious num-

ber of souls were hopefully converted under his ministry there. In June he visited Sutton and Leicester, and baptized Thomas Richardson, Daniel Denny, Esq; brother to Mr. Prince's wife of Boston, and six more. In July he preached and baptized a man in Middleborough. November 30 he baptized fifteen persons at home, who were chiefly seals of his ministry.

Two learned ministers were now settled in Newport. Mr. John Callender, nephew to their minister in Boston, who had enjoyed the benefit of Mr. Hollis's donations in Harvard college, was ordained a pastor of the first church in Newport, October 13, 1731, colleague with Elder Packom, who died three years after. Mr. Nicholas Eyres, who was born in Wiltshire, August 22, 1691, and educated in the city of Bristol, became a Baptist after he came over to New-York; and he was ordained pastor of a small Baptist church there in 1724, by the two Elder Wightman's. A collection was made in Newport, Providence, &c. to help them in building a meeting-house in that city. But in 1730 the church became much broken; Eyres says, "Some of them deserted, under a pretence of love to the principles of absolute election and predestination." Therefore he came and settled at Newport in October, 1731, colleague with Elder Wightman. Elder James Clarke, of that church, died December 1, 1736, æt. 88, much esteemed by those who knew him.

Mr. James Bound, a sensible Baptist, came over from England, and dwelt a while in Salem village, now Danvers, where Mr. Peter Clark was minister; who could not be content with personal disputes, but also frequently preached against the Baptist principles, when there were no others in the place
that

that held them. Bound told him that it was an unfair way of treating mankind ; but he persisted in it, until he turned a number of his people from his own way, who removed, and began a Baptist society in Sutton. Mr. Bound's son John married a member of Mr. Clark's church, and removed to that town, where the preaching of Sutton minister for infant baptism turned her from it ; and when Clark heard thereof, he wrote her a long letter upon the subject. This she communicated to Mr. Walton, and he wrote an answer thereto, and sent it in a sealed letter to Mrs. Bound. But by some means Clark got it into his hands, and published both letters, with animadversions thereon, in 1732. She told me that she never saw Walton's letter to her, till she saw it in print. How well this agrees with the gentleman, or the Christian, the reader will judge.

In December, 1731, an act was passed in Boston, for the Quakers only ; which left out the affirmation, and five mile limitation, and required the assessors in each parish, where any Quakers lived, to take an annual list of them, and to deliver it to their parish clerk by the 20th of July ; and if any of them should happen to be omitted therein, two principal members of the Quaker society might certify the same to the assessors by the 10th of August ; and they should also be exempted from taxes to the established worship. As the exempting laws for Baptists expired in 1733, Mr. Comer's people were immediately taxed to other teachers ; and some of them were imprisoned therefor. But upon application to their Legislature they were released, in 1734 ; and a like law was made for the Baptists as had lately been for the Quakers ; though no penalty was laid upon their assessors, for breaking those laws, which they frequently did.

THE Baptist churches in Swanzey and Rehoboth met with fore bereavements in 1734; when Elder Wheaton died April 26, æt. 75; and Mr. Comer the 23d of May following, before he had compleated his 30th year. But how much did he do in a little time! A decline immediately followed, from which neither of those churches have fully returned to this day; though the first of them has lately done so in a great measure. On September 16, 1735, a Baptist church was constituted at Sutton; and September 28, 1737, Benj. Marsh and Thomas Green were ordained joint pastors of it. The former was from Salem, and the latter from Malden; being an early planter in Leicester. And September 28, 1738, by mutual agreement, the brethren at Leicester became a church by themselves, and Green their pastor. May 16, 1736, Elder Wightman, of Newport, baptized the wife of Mr. Nathanael Mather, a Presbyterian minister of Long-Island*. November 4, 1736, a Baptist church was formed in Brimfield; and on November 4, 1741, Ebenezer Moulton was ordained their pastor||; who descended from a member of the first house of Representatives at Boston, in 1634, but who was a sufferer from the ruling party there three years after, (vol. 1, p. 87.)

MARCH 24, 1738, a century after the deed of Rhode-Island was given, by the Narraganset Indians, Mr. John Callender delivered a sermon at Newport, which he published, with enlargements; containing the best history of that Colony then extant. But his uncle at Boston was taken from his beloved flock the last day of that month; and he finished his course in the following happy manner.

March

* Eyres's register.

|| He married the above named John Bound's widow.

March 21 he said, "When I look on one hand, I see nothing but sin, guilt and discouragement: But when I look on the other, I see my glorious Saviour, and the merits of his precious blood, which cleanseth from all sin. I cannot say I have such transports of joy as some have had, but through grace I can say I have gotten the victory over death and the grave." Being asked what word of advice he had for his church? he earnestly replied, "Away with lukewarmness! Away with such remissness in attending the house of prayer, which has been a discouragement to me, and I have been faulty myself!" The Boston Evening-Post, of April 3, says, "Friday morning last, after a lingering sickness, deceased the Reverend Mr. Elisha Callender, minister of the Baptist church in this town; a gentleman universally beloved by people of all persuasions, for his charitable and catholic way of thinking. His life was unspotted, and his conversation always affable, religious, and truly manly. During his long illness he was remarkably patient, and in his last hours (like the blessed above) pacific and entirely serene; his senses good to the last. *I shall* said he, *sleep in Jesus*, and that moment expired."

Mr. Jeremiah Condry, who took his first degree at Harvard college in 1726, after preaching a while in this country, went over to England; but he was now sent for from thence, and was ordained pastor of the Baptist church in Boston, February 14, 1739. The third Baptist church in Connecticut was constituted and organized the same year in Wallingford. By reading Delaune's plea for the nonconformists, and other means, a number of people there were brought to embrace their sentiments, and joined to the Baptist church in New-London;

London; but ordinarily met for worship at Wallingford, from 1731 till they had a regular dismissal on August 20, 1739; and after being formed into a distinct church, ordained Mr. John Merriam for their pastor. Mr. Edward Upham, of Malden, son to a member of the Baptist church in Boston, took his first degree at Harvard college in 1734; and after preaching at Springfield about two years, a church was constituted there October 14, 1740, and the next day he was ordained their pastor, by the assistance of Mr. Condy, and Mr. John Callender.

THE exempting law for Baptists had again expired, and their church in Rehoboth, being afraid of further trouble, requested the town to vote them clear. This was considered of at a town-meeting January 24, 1740, when it was declared that they could not lawfully do it; yet at another meeting February 13, they voted, "That they were willing to grant or agree upon a salary for the minister of the Baptist church the present year, in case the said elder will accept thereof." For this they had no more law than the other, and it was evidently done to ensnare them if possible. In May following said exempting law was revived, to continue seven years.

C H A P. VII.

1. A Review of past Darknefs.
2. Of Light at Northampton.
3. And extensively through the Land.
4. The Nature of the Work described.
5. How far it prevailed.
6. Writings for and against it.
7. Classes against it.
8. And Courts also.
9. Where the real Blame lies.

I. **A** VERY great change is before us, which some have called the great reformation, and others great confusion; which diversity of opinion is no new thing. Concerning the founder of Christianity, *some said he is a good man; others said, nay, but he deceiveth the people.* In 1680 a sermon was delivered before the corporation of the city of London, wherein the dissenters were accused of obstructing the cause of reformation, because they would not conform to the national worship; and recourse was had to the severities of Congregationalists in New-England, against the Baptists and others, to justify the severities that were exercised towards dissenters in England. Therefore Dr. Owen published a book in 1681, wherein he observes, that all the reformation that has taken place since the rise of Antichrist, was produced entirely by these three principles, viz. taking the holy scriptures as their only perfect rule in all religious matters; allowing each rational person to judge

judge of their meaning for himself; and holding that all the power of office and government in the church of Christ is derived from him, by his word and Spirit, to each particular church, and not by a local succession from any other power in the world. And so far as any have declined from this last principle, he assures us that therein they have rejected a main reason of separation from the church of Rome*. If so, then New-England was involved at this time in *darkness that might be felt*. Very few of the common people had any idea, that a person could have a right to the gospel ministry without a degree from college, any more than the Israelites could to the priesthood, who were not of the seed of Aaron. And so great and good a man as Mr. Jonathan Edwards warned ministers against breaking over this line; even in the same book wherein he says, "It has certainly sometimes been so with our colleges, that instead of being places of the greatest advantage for true piety, one cannot send a child thither, without great danger of his being infected as to his morals†." A professor and a tutor of Harvard college, a little before this time, were convicted of gross *immoralities*‡. And in 1738 a minister at Eastham, on Cape-Cod, was deposed from his office for heterodoxy in principles; which affected others who were of his sentiments so much, that Dr. Charles Chauncy published a sermon upon liberty of conscience in 1739. And on June 9, 1740, he met with ten other ministers at Salem, and signed a paper in favour of that deposed minister; who owned to the world, that his belief was, "That men can do that, upon the doing of which they shall certainly

* Original of evangelical churches, p. 291—297.

† Edwards's thoughts, 1742, p. 266, 350.

‡ Hobby's defence of Whitefield, p. 20.

certainly be saved; and that men's obedience is a cause of their justification*." And a minister of the capital town in New-Hampshire says of the state of the churches at this time, "No serious Christian could behold it without a heavy heart, and scarce without a weeping eye; to see the solid substantial piety, for which our ancestors were justly renowned, having long languished under fore decays, brought so low, and seemingly just ready to expire and give up the ghost. How did not only Pelagianism, but Arianism, Socinianism, and even Deism, and what is falsely called Free-thinking, here and there prevail! The instituted means of salvation, in many places, were but lightly esteemed, and a horrid contempt was put upon the ministry of the word†." And in England Bishop Butler said in 1736, "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of enquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious; and accordingly they treat it as if in the present age this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world‡."

II. BUT God ever works like himself, even so as to demonstrate to all, that our help is in him, and not in any arm of flesh. Mr. Stoddard's doctrine had greatly prevailed in this country before his decease, February 11, 1729. His grandson Edward was settled a colleague with him two years before;

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who

* Osborn's letter to the Convention at Bolton, July 7, 1743, p. 6, 23.

† Shurtleff's defence of Whitefield, p. 4.

‡ Whitefield's life, chap. 2.

who has since been a chief instrument of reformation in our times. A revival of religion began under his ministry, near the close of 1733, which arose to such an height in the spring of 1735, that he entertained hopes of about thirty conversions among his people in a week, for six weeks together; so that scarce a grown person in the place remained unaffected, and many children were effectually called. Our elder Clark of Wilbraham dates his conversion there, at that time, when about twelve years old. This work was powerful in several adjacent towns; and they had a less degree of it in a number of towns in Connecticut. Edwards's narrative of that work was much esteemed in London, where a preface was wrote to it, by Dr. Watts and Dr. Guyse. In the mean time two scholars were converted in the university of Oxford, in 1733, who were furnished with such gifts, as one of them with his tongue, the other by his pen, were greatly instrumental of reviving doctrinal and experimental Christianity, through the whole British empire. Mr. George Whitefield, the first of them*, was ordained by the bishop of Gloucester, June 20, 1736; embarked for Georgia in December, 1737; returned through Ireland to England a year after; embarked again for America in August, 1739; and travelled and laboured with great success, as far northward as New-York.

III. THESE things being heard of at Boston, where religion was at a very low ebb, earnest invitations were sent him to come over and help them. He

* The other was Mr. James Hervey, who was born near Northampton, in England, February 26, 1714. And after a very pious and useful life in the ministry, and many excellent publications in the cause of true religion, he died near the place of his birth, December 25, 1758.

He therefore sailed from South-Carolina, and landed at Newport, September 14, 1740, where he laboured three days to good purpose; and then travelled to Boston, and as far eastward as York, to see the aged and pious Moody, who received him joyfully. After his return to Boston, he went up an hundred miles westward to Northampton, to visit our excellent Edwards; and from thence down by Hartford to New-Haven, and away through the southern Colonies, until he embarked from Delaware Bay, December 1; when he said, "O my soul, look back with gratitude on what the Lord hath done for thee in this excursion. I think it is the seventy-fifth day since I arrived at Rhode-Island. My body was then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its strength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, one hundred and seventy-five times in public, besides exhorting frequently in private. I have travelled upwards of eight hundred miles, and gotten upwards of Seven Hundred Pounds sterling, in goods, provisions and money, for the Georgia orphans. Never did God vouchsafe me greater comforts. Never did I see such a continuance of the divine presence in the congregations to whom I have preached*." As he went through New-Jersey he prevailed with Mr. Gilbert Tennent to take a tour into this field, which was then white unto

* *Collection of his journals*, p. 437. He was born in the city of Gloucester, December 16, 1714; and after a life of incessant labours, in Europe and America, he died at Newbury-Port, in New-England, September 30, 1770. Mr. Tennent was born in Ireland, February 5, 1703. His father came over with his family, and was a Presbyterian minister at Neshaminy, in Pennsylvania; where he kept an academy, wherein a number of excellent ministers were educated. Gilbert was ordained in 1726, and after a very useful life he died at Philadelphia, July 23, 1764, and President Finley published some account of him.

unto the harvest; who came to Boston in December, and laboured in these parts through the winter. In their preaching, both of them laid open the dreadful evil and danger of hypocrisy as well as prophaneness, and spake as plainly against unconverted teachers and professors as any other sort of sinners, and the effects were exceeding great and happy.

IV. SOME indeed tried to persuade the world, that the great change then made in the land was chiefly owing to the mechanical influence of their terrible words, gestures, and moving ways of address. Dr. Chauncy took much pains to put this colour upon things. But Mr. Thomas Prince says, "As to Mr. Whitefield's preaching, it was, in the manner, moving, earnest, winning and melting; but the mechanical influence of this, according to the usual operation of mechanical powers, in two or three days expired, with many in two or three hours; and I believe with most as soon as the sound was over, or they got out of the house, or in the first conversation they fell into. But with the *manner* of his preaching, wherein he appeared to be *in earnest*, he delivered those *vital truths* which animated all our martyrs, made them triumph in flames, and led his hearers into the view of that vital, inward, active piety, which is the meer effect of that mighty supernatural operation of a DIVINE POWER on the souls of men; which only will support and carry through the sharpest trials, and make meet for the inheritance of the saints in light." Of Mr. Ten-
nent Mr. Prince says, "In private converse with him, I found him to be a man of considerable parts and learning; free, gentle and condescending; and from his own various experience, reading the most noted writers on experimental divinity, as well as
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the scriptures, and conversing with many who had been awakened by his ministry in New-Jersey, where he then lived, he seemed to have as deep an acquaintance with the experimental part of religion as any I have conversed with; and his preaching was as searching and rousing as ever I heard. He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gestures, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language; but to aim directly at their hearts and consciences, to lay open their ruinous delusions, shew them their numerous, secret, hypocritical shifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge wherein they made themselves easy, with a form of godliness without the power*.

V. MARCH 2, 1741, Mr. Tennent preached his farewell sermon at Boston, and came round by Plymouth, Middleborough, Bridgewater, Taunton, Newport and Providence, and so returned home through Connecticut; in all which places his labours had some good effect. Religion was much revived in Boston, Northampton, and places adjacent, in the fall and winter. In February and March, it was so in New-Haven, Hebron, and Lebanon-Crank. At their general election in May, Mr. Jedidiah Mills preached in a powerful manner at Hartford, from whence his fame spread extensively. Proceeding eastward in his labours, Dr. Benjamin Lord, of Norwich, hearing when he was to preach at Lebanon, ventured to appoint a lecture for him in his own pulpit on Tuesday, June 2; but Mr. Mills was otherways engaged, and Mr. Wheelock came and preached it; and Mr. Mills came and preached there twice the Friday following. These were the first that I heard of those itinerant

* Christian history, vol. 2, p. 384—387.

nerant ministers. Such darkness had prevailed before, and many spake so freely of the light they now received, that the name of NEWLIGHTS was soon cast upon them. But an old saint, who was converted under Mr. Flavel's ministry in England, but now lived at our Norwich, being asked what she thought of them? readily replied, "Newlights! It is new to such as never saw it before; but it is what I knew above fifty years ago." The work prevailed very powerfully in Norwich through the summer. In August Mr. James Devenport from Long-Island came there, where Mr. Eleazer Wheelock and Mr. Benjamin Pomroy met him, and they laboured incessantly for three days, and a great reformation was wrought in the town; and in this and the following year, that glorious work of divine grace prevailed, in a greater or less degree, in most parts of New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and many other places. A measure of it was granted to the Baptists in Boston, Leicester, Brimfield, Newport*, Groton and Wallingford; but as the work was begun and carried on almost wholly by Pedobaptists, from which denomination their fathers had suffered much, most of the Baptists were prejudiced against the work, and against the Calvinian doctrine by which it was promoted. Though I find that Elder Robert Feke, of Oysterbay, on Long-Island, wrote to his brethren in Newport, November 29, 1741, and said, "God has begun a glorious work among us, and I hope he will carry it on. There have been seventeen added to our little band in about three months." And the work was powerful among the Baptists in New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.

VI. ALL

* Betwixt March and August, 1741, forty-eight persons were baptized, and joined to the second church in Newport.

VI. ALL allow that many imperfections attended this revival of religion; but the great difficulty has been to determine what they were, so as to encourage what was right, and to guard against all that was not so. Mr. Edwards delivered a sermon upon this subject at New-Haven, in September, 1741, which he enlarged and published, with a preface by Mr. William Cooper, of Boston; and it circulated through the nation, and was much esteemed. But an anonymous answer to it was published at Boston*, which condemned Mr. Cooper's saying "Some of the *learned* and *knowing* among men have had those things revealed to them of the Father in heaven, which flesh and blood doth not teach." This writer said he could not guess who they should be. To which it may be replied, that Mr. William Hobby, of Reading, one of the eleven signers to the paper in favour of Osborn's Arminianism, Mr. Daniel Rogers, a tutor at Harvard college, and a number more of their teachers, freely confessed that they were blind guides, until they were savingly enlightened under Mr. Whitefield's preaching. Said writer discovered a great dislike of Cooper's saying "These fruits do not grow on *Arminian* ground:" And also of what Edwards wrote against unregenerate ministers. As no law could take place in the Massachusetts, without the consent of Episcopalians, Presbyterian ministers could not carry their power so far there as in Connecticut, where the whole power of making laws was in one denomination, who therefore improved their power in the following manner.

VII. GOVERNOR Talcot died in October, while their Assembly was sitting, who then elected a Cambridge

* This answer was commended, if not wrote, by Dr. Chauncy. See Chauncy's thoughts, p. 332.

bridge scholar in his stead, who was strongly attached to their Saybrook establishment. And, by an order from their legislature, a general Confociation from all the counties of that Colony met at Guilford, November 24, and drew up sundry resolves; in one of which they say, "That for a minister to enter into another minister's parish, and preach or administer the seals of the covenant, without the consent of or in opposition to the settled minister of the parish, is *disorderly*." Mr. Robbins of Branford had done so at New-Haven before, for which other ministers had reproved him, and he had made some concessions to them therefor. In December he received a written request from the Baptist minister in Wallingford, informing him, that Dr. Bellamy had preached in their society to mutual satisfaction, and desired that he would come and do the like. This request appeared agreeable, and he appointed a meeting for the purpose, January 6, 1742. But, two days before the time, a deacon from Wallingford brought him two letters, the one signed by forty-two men of that town, the other signed by Jacob Hemenway and Isaac Stiles, ministers who lived by the way, requesting him not to go and preach to those Baptists, without giving any reason against it, but only their desire. This did not appear to him a sufficient reason for him to violate his promise, and to disappoint a people who were desirous of hearing the gospel. He therefore went and preached two sermons there, with an evident good effect. Yet for so doing he was complained of as a *disorderly* person, to the Confociation of New-Haven county, in their meeting of February 9. He enquired wherein the disorder lay, seeing he preached in a particular society, at the written request of their pastor? It was answered, that said society was not

not a lawful society, but a disorderly company. He replied, that Governor Talcot had advised Wallingford collectors not to distrain ministerial taxes from them; and the authority sent them annual proclamations for fasts and thanksgivings, as to other societies. But as the Confociation thought themselves better judges of those matters than civil rulers were, they expelled Robins from their classical court for preaching to those Baptists*. A son of Wallingford minister was then a tutor in Yale college, of which David Brainard was a member; and the tutor having prayed more pathetically than usual with the scholars, one of Brainard's intimates asked him what he then thought of the tutor? *He has no more grace than this chair*, said Brainard. The sentence was overheard, and carried to the rulers of the college; though the accuser could not tell who it was against. However they extorted this from his friends, and expelled Brainard out of the college just about the time that Robins was expelled from their Confociation||. And more effectually to guard against such disorders for the future, a draught of a law was made, and ministers conveyed it into the Legislature at Hartford, in their session of May 13; who were not only prevailed with to pass it, but also to direct the heads of their college not to suffer any scholars therein who refused to obey it‡.

VIII. “ *An act for regulating abuses, and correcting disorders in ecclesiastical affairs.*

“ WHEREAS this Assembly did by their act, made in the seventh year of the reign of her late Majesty
 U Queen

* His narrative, p. 1—6.

|| Brainard's life, p. 20.

‡ See their reasons for expelling the Cleavelands, in 1744. Col. Hezekiah Huntington told me, that this law was prepared and sent in by ministers.

Queen Anne, establish and confirm a confession of faith, and an agreement for ecclesiastical discipline, made at Saybrook Anno Domini 1708, by the reverend elders, and messengers delegated by the churches in this Colony for that purpose; under which establishment his Majesty's subjects, inhabiting in this Colony, have enjoyed great peace and quietness, until of late sundry persons have been guilty of disorderly and irregular practices; whereupon this Assembly, in October last, did direct to the calling of a General Confociation, to set at Guilford in November last, which said Confociation was convened accordingly; at which Convention it was endeavoured to prevent the growing disorders amongst ministers, that have been ordained or licenced by the Associations in this government to preach; and likewise to prevent divisions and disorders among the churches and ecclesiastical societies, settled by order of this Assembly. Notwithstanding which, divers of the ministers, ordained as aforesaid, and others licenced to preach by some of the Associations allowed by law, have taken upon them, without any lawful call, to go into parishes immediately under the care of other ministers, and there to preach to and teach the people*; and also sundry persons, some of whom are very illiterate, and have no ecclesiastical character or authority whatsoever to preach or teach, have taken upon them publicly to teach and exhort the people in matters of religion, both as to doctrine and practice; which practices have a tendency to make divisions and contentions among the people in

* Beside those before named, Mr. Samuel Buell travelled and laboured successfully through the country, who has since enjoyed great blessings in his pastoral labours at East-Hampton, on Long-Island. Mr. James Sprout, born in Middleborough, since minister in Philadelphia, was another of those itinerant preachers.

in this Colony, and to destroy the ecclesiastical constitution established by the laws of this government, and likewise to hinder the growth and increase of vital piety and godliness in these churches, and also to introduce unqualified persons into the ministry; and more especially where one Association doth intermeddle with affairs that by the platform and agreement abovesaid, made at Saybrook abovesaid, are properly within the province and jurisdiction of another Association; as by licencing persons to preach, and ordaining ministers. *Therefore,*

“ *BE it enacted by the Governor, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,* that if any ordained minister, or other person licenced as abovesaid to preach, shall enter into any parish not immediately under his charge, and shall there preach or exhort the people, shall be denied and secluded the benefit of any law of this Colony, made for the support and encouragement of the gospel ministry, except such ordained minister or licenced person shall be expressly invited and desired so to enter into such other parish, and there to preach and exhort the people, either by the settled minister and major part of the church in said parish, or, in case there be no settled minister, then by the church or society within such parish.

“ *AND it is further enacted by the authority abovesaid,* that if any Association of ministers shall undertake to examine or licence any candidate for the gospel ministry, or assume to themselves the decision of any controversy, or as an Association to counsel or advise in any affair that by the platform or agreement above mentioned is properly within the province and jurisdiction of any other Association, then and in such case every member that shall be present in such Association, so licencing, deciding or counselling,

ling, shall be each and every of them denied and excluded the benefit of any law in this Colony, made for the support and encouragement of the gospel ministry.

“ *AND it is further enacted*, that if any minister or ministers, contrary to the force, intent and meaning of this act, shall presume to preach in any parish not under his immediate care and charge, the minister of the parish where he shall so offend, or the civil authority, or any two of the committee of such parish, shall give information thereof in writing, under their hands, to the clerk of the parish, or society where such offending minister doth belong, which clerk shall receive such information, and lodge and keep the same on file in his office; and no Assistant or Justice of the Peace in this Colony shall sign any warrant for the collecting any minister's rate, without first receiving a certificate from the clerk of the society or parish where such rate is to be collected, that no such information as is above mentioned hath been received by him, or lodged in his office.

“ *AND it is further enacted*, that if any person whatsoever, that is not a settled and ordained minister, shall go into any parish, and without the express desire and invitation of the settled minister of such parish, if any there be, and the major part of the church, or if there be no such settled minister, without the express desire of the church or congregation within such parish, publicly preach and exhort the people, shall for every such offence, upon complaint made thereof to any Assistant or Justice of the Peace, be bound to his peaceable and good behaviour until the next County Court, in that county where the offence shall be committed, by said Assistant or Justice of the Peace, in the
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penal sum of One Hundred Pounds lawful money, that he or they will not again offend in like kind; and the said County Court may, if they see meet, further bind the person or persons offending as aforesaid to their peaceable and good behaviour, during the pleasure of said Court.

“*AND it is further enacted*, that if any foreigner or stranger, that is not an inhabitant within this Colony, including as well such persons that have no ecclesiastical character or licence to preach, as such as have received ordination or licence to preach by any Association or Presbytery, shall presume to preach, teach or publicly exhort, in any town or society within this Colony, without the desire and licence of the settled minister and the major part of the church of said town or society, or at the call and desire of the church and inhabitants of such town or society, provided that it so happen that there is no settled minister there, that every such preacher, teacher or exhorter, shall be sent as a vagrant person, by warrant from any one Assistant or Justice of the Peace, from constable to constable, out of the bounds of this Colony.”

IX. THE reader may here see how catholic those ministers were, and how concerned to preserve union and order in every part of that Colony, and it doubtless would have extended much further, had their power been equal to their inclinations. But there were three things which lay much in their way. They could not command the thoughts of the people, nor the pens of ministers in other governments, and were unable to move their own rulers to carry violence so far as they did their censures. The second itinerant minister, whom they accused of making divisions and disturbances, published a sermon this year, which
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had an extensive circulation; wherein he says, "The proper cause of sinful divisions, is the enmity against God and holiness, which is in the hearts of natural men, of every order; being stirred up by the devil, and their own proud and selfish lusts. And very often natural men, who are the proper cause of such divisions, deal with God's servants as Potipher's wife did by Joseph; they lay the blame of their own wickedness at their doors, and make a loud cry." And as their common talk was, that to go over parish lines to meeting was going out of God's way, so that if any thought they got good thereby, they were deceived, Mr. Tennent says, "There are three monstrous ingredients in this objection, namely, a begging the question in debate, rash judging, and limiting of God." For they who would confine religious worship to lines which men have drawn, assume a power which is justly questioned, and thereby attempt to limit God; and how rash is it to judge all those to be deceived who refuse a tame submission to such usurpations*! Mr. Edwards also now observed, that, "If ministers preach never so good doctrine, and are never so laborious in their work, yet if at such a day as this they shew to their people that they are not well affected to this work, they will be very likely to do their people a great deal more hurt than good; for the very fame of such a great and extraordinary work of God, if their people were suffered to believe it to be his, and the example of other towns, together with the preaching they might hear occasionally, would be likely to have a much greater influence upon the minds of their people, to awaken and animate

* Tennent's sermon on the great danger of an unconverted ministry, p. 16, 18.

animate them in religion, than all their labours with them. And we that are ministers, by looking on this work, from year to year, with a displeased countenance, shall effectually keep the sheep from their pasture, instead of doing the part of shepherds, by feeding them; and our people had a great deal better be without any settled minister at all, at such a day as this.—Those awful words of Christ to the Jewish fathers should be considered by us, Mat. xxiii. 13. *Wo unto you, for you shut up the kingdom of heaven; ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.* The times of Christ's remarkably appearing in behalf of his church, to revive religion, and advance his kingdom in the world, are often spoken of in the prophecies of scripture, as times wherein he will remarkably execute judgment on such ministers or shepherds as do not feed the flock, but hinder their being fed, and so deliver his flock from them; as Jer. xxiii. Ezek. xxxiv. Zech. x. Isai. lvi. &c*.”

How weighty and solemn are these considerations! yet the imperfections and mistakes of the real servants of Christ, and the hypocrisy and apostasy of others, have often been caught at as a shield against the authority of truth in these respects; as the following facts will further shew.

* Edwards's thoughts, 1742, p. 133—135.

C H A P. VIII.

1. Mistakes and Enthusiasms of learned Ministers.
2. The Use that was made thereof against true Religion and Liberty.
3. Ill Treatment of the Baptists.
4. And of the late Work in general.
5. Which Treatment was carried to the greatest Height in Connecticut.
6. Stars swept down thereby.

I. **M**R. Devenport derived his descent from the first minister of New-Haven, and was son of a minister of Stamford, in Fairfield county. He and Mr. Daniel Bliss, a lively minister at Concord, took their first degrees at Yale college in 1732, as Mr. Wheelock and Mr. Pomroy did theirs in 1733, and Timothy Allen his in 1736; who all dated their conversions before these times. Allen was ordained at West-Haven; but upon uttering some unguarded expressions, about how unprofitable the scriptures were to the unregenerate, their Consociation deposed him from his office. Devenport was an instrument of great awakenings in many places; and no man before him ever laboured to so good purpose as he did, among the Mohegan and Nyantic Indians; from whence also sprang a great work among the Narragansets*. But

* The Commissioners at Boston, for sending out and supporting missionaries among the Indians, sent Mr. Joseph Park to Westerly,

But having always lived among ministers who claimed a like power in the Christian church, as the seed of Aaron had in that of the Jews; and being deeply sensible of the mischiefs which unconverted teachers do to precious souls, he imbibed a strong persuasion, that it was his duty to examine the ministers wherever he came, and to warn the people against hearing such as he judged to be blind guides. For these things he was taken up and brought before Connecticut Legislature, who sent him out of their Colony. Separations were hereby caused at New-London, New-Haven, and Milford. And it was impressed upon sundry minds, that they must *go their way forth*, and erect a *shepherd's tent* at New-London, to educate persons in for the ministry. Such a school was therefore opened, to which a number resorted, wherein Allen presided. And though he was once imprisoned for preaching, and others suffered much, it did but animate them the more. And Devenport must needs go and preach to the great metropolis of New-England. Upon his arrival he had long conferences with the ministers of Boston and Charlestown; until on July 1,

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1742,

Westerly, upon that business, in 1733. In 1738 the east part of that town, where the Narragansets chiefly resided, was set off by the name of Charlestown. But in nine years, he was not able to bring one English family, in those two towns, to set up family worship; nor above a dozen Indians to attend on his ministry: Until, being greatly enlightened himself, by means of those itinerant ministers, a revival began among his people, and a church of 14 English members was formed in May, 1742; which was succeeded with so great a work among the Indians the next year, as brought many of them into that church, and an hundred of them usually to attend on his ministry. *Christian history*, vol. 1, p. 202—210. Mr. Park died there March 1, 1777.

Stephen Babcock, a member of that church, became the pastor of a Baptist church in 1750, and continued so until his death in 1775.

1742, most of them signed a declaration, wherein they said, "He appears to us to be truly pious, and we hope God has used him as an instrument of good to many souls; yet we judge it our duty to bear testimony against the following particulars. 1. His being acted much by sudden *impulses*. 2. His judging some ministers in Long-Island and New-England to be unconverted; and thinking himself called of God to *demand* of his brethren, from place to place, an account of their regenerate state, when or in what manner the Holy Spirit wrought upon and renewed them. 3. His going with his friends, singing through the streets and highways, to and from the houses of worship, on Lord's days and other days*. 4. His encouraging private brethren to pray and exhort in assemblies gathered for that purpose. We judge it therefore our present duty not to invite him into our places of public worship, as otherwise we might have readily done." But this did not prevent his going to examine each of them, and then declaring publicly against them; naming some as unconverted, and comparing others to Jehoshaphat in Ahab's army, and calling the people to separate from them||. He proceeded farther eastward in this way, and upon his return to Boston in August he was imprisoned and brought upon trial in Court, for slandering their ministers, but the jury judged him to be *non compos mentis*, and so acquitted him¶. Separations hereupon took place in Boston, Ipswich and Newbury. After his return to Long-Island, he was brought over to New-London; where

* In this way of singing he was almost entirely singular, even from those who were otherwise engaged with him in the general cause.

|| Christian history, vol. 2, p. 406—408.

¶ Chauncy's thoughts, p. 164, 165.

where he and others were carried so far, under a notion of purging away all error, as to burn a considerable pile of books, that in their view were erroneous; near the town wharff, on Lord's day, March 6, 1743, just as people were returning from public worship. Norcott upon baptism was cast into the pile; but was catched out by another hand. The next day, under a conceit of destroying idolatry, they collected a large heap of fine cloaths and ornaments, but were hindered from burning of them, partly by a gentleman's coming to Devenport, and assuring him, that if all he had idolized must be burnt, he must burn him first. Great confusion was caused by these things, and the shepherd's tent broke up soon after*.

II. THOSE who teach God's fear by the precepts of men, *watch for iniquity*, Isaiah xxix. 13, 20. And they had now got so much of it, as emboldened them to appear very openly against the work in this land. The annual convention of ministers at Boston, May 25, published their testimony upon this subject; and especially against "The spirit and practice of separation, from the particular flocks to which persons belong, to join with and support *lay-exhorters or itinerants*†." This moved some friends to the late revival to publish an invitation, in the Boston papers, to all ministers who had favourable thoughts of that work, to meet there the day after the ensuing commencement at Cambridge, to give their minds concerning it; and such as could not well come, were desired to send in their thoughts in writing. In answer to
this

* March 5, 1743, Mr. Prince and his son began a weekly publication, and continued it for two years, under the name of *The Christian History*; which is very serviceable in ours.

† Chauncy's thoughts, p. 299.

this request, about ninety ministers met at Boston, July 7, and elected a committee, to draw up a testimony and letter of advice to the churches, to be laid before them next morning. But twenty of them went off, and did not stay to hear it. Of those who stayed, forty-four signed it without reserve; wherein they testify, that a glorious work of divine grace had been wrought in this land, in the three preceding years; but advise, "That *laymen* do not invade the ministerial office, and, under a pretence of exhorting, set up preaching; which (say they) is very contrary to gospel order, and tends to introduce errors and confusion into the churches. That ministers do not invade the province of others, and, *in ordinary cases*, preach in another's parish without his knowledge, and against his consent." Fifteen more signed it, with an exception in these words, viz. "We concur with the testimony, for the substance of it, excepting that article of itinerancy, or ministers and others intruding into other ministers' parishes without their consent, which *great disorder* we apprehend not sufficiently testified against therein." At the head of these was Dr. Colman; who twelve years before called it a fret of zeal, and a narrow party spirit, in the apostle John, to desire our Saviour himself to forbid others, because, said John, *they follow not us*. The other signers to this exception were Checkley and Eliot of Boston, Fowle of Hingham, Baxter of Medfield, Carpenter of Hull, Bradstreet of Marblehead, Abbot and Prentice of Charlestown, Turell of Medford, Dorr of Mendon, Parkman of Westborough, Eells of Scituate, Bass of Haver, and Maccarty of Kingston. On the other hand, nine ministers were sensible that *in many cases* ministers might preach in the parishes of others without their

their consent, and that, "This liberty cannot be invaded or denied, without inhumanly invading the *essential rights of conscience*." These were Sewall and Prince of Boston, Diman of Salem, Chipman of Beverly, Emerson of Topsfield, Emerson of Malden, Goddard of Spencer, Weld of Attleborough, and Cotton of Providence*. Others were so much set against that liberty, as to procure the publication of the before-cited Connecticut law in a Boston news-paper†. And it was evidently the want of power, that prevented the enacting of such laws in the Massachusetts; notwithstanding all the obligations they were under to the Hollis family. Mr. Isaac Hollis, a pious Baptist minister near London, was now sending over liberal communications, towards christianizing the Stockbridge Indians; as Dr. Colman himself informs us‡. Yet how were the Baptists treated here!

III. Mr. James Bound, John Dabny, and Thomas Boucher, from Britain, with John Proctor, a town school-master in Boston, members of the Baptist church there, withdrew from it, and began another church in July; and Mr. Ephraim Bound (son to James) was ordained their pastor, September 7, 1743. The reasons of their withdraw were because Mr. Condy taught Arminian doctrine, contrary to the original principles of the church, and also opposed the late work of God in the land. Philip Freeman, member of a Baptist church in London, came over to Boston, and joined to that new church; who sent an account of their principles and conduct to Dr. John Gill, which obtained his approbation, and a considerable present was sent them

* Christian history, vol. 1, p. 155—166, 198.

† Chauncy's thoughts, p. 41.

‡ Christian history, vol. 1, p. 150.

them from London. The increase of the Baptists in New-Jersey soon after moved Mr. Jonathan Dickinson, the first President of their college, to write a dialogue upon infant baptism. It was printed both at New-York and Boston in 1746, but without any name to it. Mr. Freeman sent one of them to Dr. Gill, with a request that he would answer it. He did so in 1749, and began with these words, viz. "Many being converted under the ministry of the word in New-England, and enlightened into the ordinance of believers baptism, whereby the churches of the Baptist persuasion at Boston and in the country have been encreased, has alarmed the Pedobaptist ministers of that Colony; who have applied to one Mr. Dickinson, a country minister, who, as my correspondent informs me, has wrote with some success against the Arminians, to write in favour of infant sprinkling." In 1752 Mr. Clark (who wrote against Walton twenty years before) published a reply to Gill, wherein he said, "In this introductory passage, there are several gross mistakes in fact, or manifest *untruths*." And he takes up above five pages, in trying to prove this charge; thinking, undoubtedly, that if he could prove him to be a false man in his introduction, his book might more easily be answered, in the opinion of most; who generally have *men's persons in admiration because of advantage*. He allows that Dickinson wrote against the *Sectaries*, and names as such the Quakers, Anabaptists, Arminians and Antinomians; not mentioning that himself was one of the eleven signers of the paper in favour of Osborn's Arminianism in 1740. The proofs for his charge against Gill consist in limiting his words to the Massachusetts, instead of all New-England, and denying any great increase of the Baptists, so as to alarm the ministers; or that any

any in or near Boston sent to Dickinson to write upon that subject, [which was not affirmed.] But what shall we think of Clark? Gill was never here, and therefore might easily mistake the geography of the country; but his accuser was born and educated in it; and he says of that new church, "They have set up an illiterate teacher. To this separate society there have been, indeed, some few enthusiasts and separatists from some churches in Boston, and from the adjacent parts of the country, who have joined themselves.—Besides—I know of no other Baptist church, except at the out-skirts of the Province towards Rhode-Island and Providence, where I am informed there are two or three societies that call themselves Baptist churches*." Whereas, at the time when he wrote thus, there were two Baptist churches in Boston, two in Swanzey, two in Rehoboth, and one in each of the towns of Bellingham, Sutton, Leicester, Sturbridge, Brimfield and Springfield. And how guilty must a man be, thus to misrepresent the state of his own Province, in order to fix an odium upon a gentleman who never was in it! He unjustly accused him of holding conversion to be to a particular sect; but how many reproachful names does himself cast upon dissenters from his own sect? Arminians is one of those names; whereas the largest addition to said church in Boston, that they had received from any one town in the country, was of a number of judicious Christians in Medfield, who refused to join in the settlement of an Arminian minister there; who has since been forced to resign his office, because of his having a child by his maid. After the great earthquake November 18, 1755, Mr. Bound's lectures were flocked to from all parts of the town; and

such

* Clark against Gill, p. 1—6.

such a blessing was granted upon his ministry, that they had an hundred communicants in that church. His life was unblemished and exemplary, until he died with great peace in his own soul, and much lamented by others, June 18, 1765.

IV. In 1742, Mr. Edwards published his thoughts, in five parts; shewing that the work going on in the land was a glorious work of God; the duty of all to acknowledge and promote it, and the great danger of the contrary; wherein its friends had been injuriously blamed; what ought to be corrected among them, and what positively ought to be done to promote the work. Upon a view of which Dr. Chauncy set off and travelled through New-England, New-York and New-Jersey, to collect matter for an answer to him, which was published this year, with the names of three Governors, two Lieut. Governors, many Counsellors, and in all above seven hundred men as subscribers for it. Above 300 pages in the book are taken up upon things that he said were of a bad and dangerous tendency in the land. He ranks them under eight heads; namely, itinerant preaching, great terrors, sudden light and joy, censuring of others, impulses, confounding of many exercises together, and a spirit of error. Under which last head, eight particulars are named, viz. Holding that unconverted ministers could not convert others, separations, presumptuous depending upon the assistance of the Spirit, assurance of conversion, and of the time of it, vilifying good works, and not allowing sanctification to be an evidence of justification. And lest all the bad stories he had raked together, from every part of America, should fail of cloathing these points with a garb sufficiently odious, a number are added thereto

thereto from Europe, and some from the dregs of Popery. A touch upon what he says, about itinerant preaching, and rash judging, may give some idea how strong his arguments were.— Against the former he brings 2 Thes. iii. 10—15, 1 Pet. iv. 15, and 2 Cor. x. 12—17; which condemn the eating of other men's bread for naught, acting as busy-bodies in other men's matters, and the commending of themselves, and going into another man's line, of things made ready to our hands. But by whom is this line drawn? by God or man? Teachers who are fond of support by tax and compulsion, and promote the use of violence towards such as *follow not them*, most evidently fall under the lash of these scriptures. According to Chauncy, rash and uncharitable judging was begun in these parts by Mr. Whitefield, "Who seldom preached, but he had something or other in his sermon against unconverted ministers." And why was this uncharitable? Because Dr. Cotton Mather said, "No man becomes a minister or a communicant in our churches, until he hath been severely examined about his *regeneration*, as well as conversation*." When was it so? This testimony was given in 1696; and how clearly does it prove, that their practice remained the same in 1740! His other arguments are alike conclusive.

V. CONNECTICUT had a more powerful way of reasoning. In October, 1742, they forbid the erection of any public place of education, without licence from authority; and also debarred all teachers from any benefit of their laws for their support, who had not been graduated by some Protestant college. And on February 16 they issued a proclamation for a general fast, to be on April 13, 1743.

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* Chauncy's thoughts, p. 42, 140, 142.

to deprecate the judgments of heaven, for their iniquities; "Particularly the great neglect and contempt of the gospel and the ministry thereof, and the prevailing of a spirit of error, disorder, unpeaceableness, pride, bitterness, uncharitableness, censoriousness, disobedience, calumniating and reviling of authority; divisions, contentions, separations and confusions in churches; injustice, idleness, evil-speaking, lasciviousness, and all other vices and impieties which abound among us†:" Which was issued early enough to have influence in the choice of their Legislature. Col. Hezekiah Huntington had been a member of their Council for three years; but at their election at Hartford, May 12, he was left out of it; and John Bulkley, Esq; was chosen in his stead, who sent Zebulon Waterman and others, of Colchester, to Hartford gaol the summer before, for teaching and exhorting at a religious meeting. Waterman was soon after ordained the pastor of a Baptist church in Colchester. It was well known that Huntington was much engaged in the late revival of religion in the land, and that he openly testified against the persecutions therein. King William's act of toleration was adopted in Connecticut, in May, 1708, just before their Saybrook scheme was formed. But because it had been extended, by their County Court, to the dissenters in New-Haven and Milford, it was now repealed, with a declaration, "That those commonly called Presbyterians or Congregationalists shall not take benefit of said law." And it was enacted, that none of other denominations should, for the future, be allowed the privileges of dissenters, but such as should "Before the Assembly take the oaths and subscribe the declaration

† Ibid, p. 295, 296.

declaration provided in the act of Parliament, in cases of like nature." And as Mr. John Owen, of Groton, was complained of, for having in April before preached against such proceedings, an order was given out to bring him before the Assembly, to answer therefor, at their next session. In the mean time a Presbyterian minister came from New-Jersey, and preached at Milford; for which he was taken up on a Saturday. And as they spake of confining him until Monday, he said, "Sir, I hope you will not confine me from preaching Christ." *That is what we took you up for*, said the Judge. He was carried, as a *vagrant* person, out of that Colony; but then he returned and preached at New-Haven. And as the people there had got into the way of concealing their ministers on week days, an officer came and seized this minister, at their meeting-house door, on a Lord's day morning, and carried him off. Yet when he was let go, he returned again and preached to the people, an account of which being laid before the Assembly at New-Haven, of October 13, they added another act, which required ministers who should so return to pay the cost of their transportation, and to be committed until they should give an Hundred Pounds bond, not to offend again in like kind. Such were their proceedings against a precious minister of Christ; whose name and title since is, Samuel Finley, D. D. President of New-Jersey college.

VI. As Mr. Owen avoided being taken, and like complaints were exhibited against Mr. Pomroy, orders were given to arrest them both, and to bring them to the next session of their Assembly. Accordingly, at their meeting at Hartford, May 10, 1744, Owen came with an humble confession, and

and they forgave him, he paying costs. Pomroy was brought, and stood trial for some hours; but was condemned, and ordered to be committed till he would pay the costs, and bind himself for one year, in a recognizance of Fifty Pounds, not to offend again in like manner. He then yielded to their requirements. And on July 28 Mr. Devenport signed a retraction of the four articles which were condemned at Boston, and of his enthusiasms at New-London; which was sent to Mr. Prince to publish with all speed. He did so, but prefixed thereto an extract from an ancient author, who says, "It is no uncommon thing for those who love God in sincerity, through impatience with the bold impieties of wicked men, to transgress the limits of a regular zeal. And when this impatience betrays them into mistakes, for which they meet with too severe treatment, either from friends, or from men in power; instead of correcting only the irregular sallies of their zeal, they are apt to suppress the most regular and laudable expressions of it, and become lukewarm and indifferent*." The sequel will demonstrate the propriety of this remark.

In January Elder Timothy Packorn and Daniel Greene visited their Baptist brethren at New-London and Saybrook, and baptized some persons at each place. At Saybrook the people laid some things across a stream on a Lord's day, to raise the water to baptize in. False charges were added to what was fact in the case; and said two teachers, and several other persons, were seized and imprisoned at New-London; one of whom was a woman with a child at her breast. But the above evils were well exposed in a piece, intituled, *The essential rights of Protestants*; dated March 30, 1744. Col. Elisha Williams,

* Christian history, vol. 2, p. 234—240.

Williams, the best President they ever had at Yale college, was the undoubted author of it; though being printed at Boston, it was sent as a letter from thence to a friend in Connecticut. Having described the origin, design and limits of civil government, he says, "Man by his constitution, as he is a reasonable being, capable of the knowledge of his MAKER, is a moral and accountable being; and therefore, as every one is accountable for himself, he must reason, judge and determine for himself. That faith and practice which depend on the judgment and choice of any other person, and not on the person's own judgment and choice, may pass for religion in the synagogue of Satan, whose tenet is that ignorance is the mother of devotion; but with no understanding Protestant will it pass for any religion at all.—Ecclesiastical officers, as they are Christ's officers, they have authority to teach men his mind in things pertaining to his kingdom; so they have no authority to teach men any thing but the mind and will of Christ. It is a truth that shines with a meridian brightness, that whatever is not contained in a commission, is out of it and excluded by it; and the teaching *his laws only* being contained in the commission, what is not his law is out of it, and by that commission they are excluded from teaching it, or forbid by it*." And from hence he plainly exposed their persecuting laws and measures. But though this was printed at Boston, and dispersed in Connecticut, yet the ruling party had no eyes to see it, nor ears to hear it. We must maintain the *good old way*, was their cry, although what they so called was diametrically opposite to the first principles of New-England. And though for reasons before given the Massachusetts could not

* Essential rights, p. 8, 17.

not go so far as Connecticut did, yet their disposition is conspicuous in what follows.

MR. Peter Thatcher was the third minister of Middleborough, where he began to preach in September, 1707, and he continued their pastor until his joyful exit, April 22, 1744. He was much affected with Mr. Tennent's preaching in these parts, and laboured earnestly for a reformation among his people, but with much sorrow of heart, until such a blessing was granted at a meeting, November 23, 1741, that about an hundred persons, professors and others, were greatly awakened; and the ensuing harvest was so great, that when he died they had three hundred and forty-three communicants, above half of whom were males*. The church met soon after, and elected a committee to manage their affairs, and in particular to provide preaching for them; but the parish committee, who were men of influence in the town†, were very opposite to the late work among them, and they counteracted the church in that matter. And when the church had voted to hear Mr. Silvanus Conant four sabbaths upon probation, they went and got another man to supply the pulpit the same days, the first of which was September 9; when Conant was permitted to preach in the afternoon. But on September 13 they received the following advice from a Council at Duxbury, viz. "That though it belongs to the church to lead the congregation in the choice and call of a minister to office, that it is the right, as it has been the custom of the several parishes (when destitute of a minister) to apply, by a committee chosen by the whole parish, to such person or

* Christian history, vol. 2, p. 77—79.

† Mr. Jacob Thompson, Benjamin White, Esq; and Capt. Ebenezer Morton.

or persons as shall be recommended to them for that purpose; and we advise the gentlemen, and all concerned, to follow this laudable custom." The ministers who gave this advice were Eels of Scituate, Gay of Hingham, Lewis of Pembroke, Bass of Hanover, Perkins and Angier of Bridgewater*. And by these means the body of the church were shut out of their meeting-house, with the minister they chose; and had no better place than a barn to meet in, until they built another house. And less than a quarter of the church called themselves the standing part, held the old house, and went on and settled another minister. Mr. Conant was ordained, according to their laws, by the advice of a Council of five churches, March 28, 1745; and ministered there to good purpose, until his decease, December 7, 1777. Mr. John Cotton, then of Halifax, now of Plymouth, published a narrative of these transactions; to which a virulent answer was returned; both in 1746. Judge Oliver was of that opposing party; and he and others had such influence at Boston, that the church could not have any proper hearing there for about four years. But when that was once granted, and every man in the parish had liberty to choose for himself, and each to support the minister he chose, the opposers were soon sick of their minister, and in less than ten years he was dismissed, and their society was soon after dissolved; leaving a loud warning to all against empowering the world to controul the church about soul-guides.

* Morton against Cotton, p. 14, 15.

C H A P. IX.

1. A Deliverer raised up in an unlikely Way.
2. His Preaching and Success.
3. The Division at Canterbury.
4. Sufferings for preaching the Gospel.
5. Expulsions from College.
6. The true State of the Controversy.
7. Opposition to Whitefield.
8. New Churches formed.
9. Classes and Courts against them.
10. But were defeated.
11. Especially in the Branford Case.

I. **B**Y whom shall Jacob arise, for he is small? saith one prophet. Jerusalem hath none of her sons to guide her, saith another. And how much was this the case with New-England in 1744? Although some of their ministers had been alive in religion, and had done a great deal to promote the power of it; yet they were agreed with formalists in confining the ministry to a college education, and in having of it supported by tax and compulsion; therefore none of them could now lead the church out of her Egyptian bondage. And where could such a leader be found? Could any man think of looking to the barren shores of Cape-Cod for his birth, to the obscure village of Canterbury for his education, or to a bench of lawyers for his integrity

integrity and faithfulness? Of all things this seemed most unlikely! Yet such was the event. Mr. Elisha Paine, of Easham, upon said Cape, removed with his family to Canterbury, and was one of the seven men who formed a church there, June 13, 1711. His wife was of the family of Deacon John Doane*, one of the early magistrates of Plymouth Colony. Mr. Paine had four sons, whom he brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The second of them dated his conversion about the time of the revival of religion at Windham in 1721, and before the general revival, twenty years after he was become one of the greatest lawyers in Connecticut, and was in very prosperous circumstances in the world: In one of his private papers he says, "God hath so ordered it in his Providence, that ever since I was a child I have had an enquiring mind after knowledge, of almost all sorts; but religion bore the sway. I seemed to have a regard for good men, and therefore took great care to watch persons, especially to see how they kept the sabbath. Before my conversion I had the curiosity to hear all the different worships in New-England, and enquired into their principles, and observed their behaviour, both in and out of their worship. And I saw so little, or rather nothing of the power of godliness in any of them, that I was then even in my carnal estate, afraid that the true religion was not in this land. Yet worldly pleasure, and the form which was most acknowledged, would soon make me easy again. But when conviction came to lay hold of me, let who would be of the true religion, I saw mine was of no value." In July, 1742, he received an internal call to preach.

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* His daughter Abigail married a Lothrop in Norwich; where she was much esteemed, both for her capacity and her piety, until her death in 1735, æt. 104.

the gospel, and in December following he offered himself for examination before some pious ministers; and they gave him encouragement about entering into that work, but were for his doing it upon the Saybrook plan, which he never liked. The church he belonged to had been destitute of a pastor near two years, when they met on January 27, 1743, and declared by vote, "That the platform of church discipline agreed upon by the Synod at Cambridge, in 1648, is most agreeable to the former designed practice of this church, excepting their having ruling elders as distinct officers, and most agreeable to the scriptures;" though they did not withdraw their fellowship from the consociated churches. Soon after this Mr. Paine set out upon a journey; but for preaching the gospel in Woodstock, which then belonged to the Massachusetts, he was seized on February 19, by virtue of a warrant from John Chandler, Esq; of that town, and was imprisoned at Worcester.

II. But his bonds proved to be for the furtherance of the gospel, and he preached it to good purpose in prison. And on March 10 four ministers met at Lebanon, and signed a testimony in his favour; wherein, after mentioning the cause why he was not approbated in the preceding December, they say, "From the knowledge we then had of him, we were of the opinion that he was qualified, and that it was his duty to preach the gospel. And we think it our duty to give our testimony for him, that he is, so far as we know or have ever heard, of a regular Christian life and conversation; and we esteem him sound in the faith, and of good understanding in the doctrines of the gospel of Christ.

ELEAZAR WHELOCK, JOSEPH MEACHAM,
BENJAMIN POMROY, SAMUEL MOSELY."

THIS

THIS Mr. Mosely sent to him, in a letter, wherein he said, "Dear Sir, stand fast in the faith; be strong. They that be with you are more than they that be with our adversaries. Never think it hard to suffer for Christ. It is enough for the servant that he be as his Lord."——Yet the next year all these men were overpowered by the enemy, so as to turn and act against him, in the great cause of reformation. On May 13 Worcester Court were constrained to give him a discharge, as having been imprisoned without law; and he went round and preached the gospel in the adjacent towns for a fortnight, and then returned home. July 8 he set off again, and travelled to Providence, Bristol, Boston, Cambridge, and as far northward as Dunstable and Lancaster, preaching the gospel with great power; and returned home December 3, having, according to a journal he kept, preached two hundred and forty-four sermons in that journey. And hearing of the measures many were then pursuing, under a pretence of promoting peace and good order, he said, "Let me speak freely of the peace that Connecticut was in. For these forty years we have had the name of a contentious people in the law. This was so customary, that to sue a man for debt was become not much more than a compliment. And scarce a meeting-house has been set up for many years, without fundry petitions to the Assembly; with great heats animosity, party against party, not in love, as is too well known to be denied." And yet by their laws it was Forty Pounds fine for any people to set up a meeting-house without leave from Court. And, referring to what Daniel says of those who shall be *corrupted by flatteries*, he said of this time, "I verily believe they know not what they are doing;

ing; for they seem to be zealous to maintain peace, but take the direct way to break it. Christ is a peaceable Prince, and Prince of peace; and if there was nothing in the way of his kingdom, it would be as peaceable here as it is in heaven. The Spirit is compared to water; water maketh no noise unless it is interrupted; so is the spirit of Christ." In June, 1744, he went and laboured with success in his native country of Cape-Cod, from whence sprang the Baptist church in Harwich.

III. UPON his return a division took place in Canterbury in the following manner. The parish had called a candidate there to preach, whom most of the church were not edified by. In August a committee of their Association met there, at the call of the parish, to give advice in the case. Mr. Paine was requested to give them his objections against said candidate, but he refused, because they were not called there by the church. Another member gave them a copy of their church vote against him; which the ministers in their result said "Was signed in behalf of the *aggrieved part* of the church;" and advised the parish to go on and settle their candidate. For this Paine, on September 12, wrote a smart reproof to one of those ministers, for wronging the truth, in calling that an aggrieved part, which was the church; and for encouraging the world to usurp such a power over the church of Christ. Hereupon he was disciplined by the secular arm. Their charge, his plea, and their judgment thereon, were as follow. Their charge was,

IV. "THAT Elisha Paine, of Canterbury, in the county of Windham, who is not a settled and ordained minister, did on the 10th day of April, A. D. 1744, go into the third parish in Windham, in the county aforesaid, and in said parish, in the house

house of Mr. Benjamin Cleaveland, there the said Paine did publicly preach and exhort in matters of religion, both as to doctrine and practice, to a great number of people then present, that were notified many days before."

"*Windham, ss. September 22, 1744.*

"At a Justices Court. Present Nathanael Huntington, Justice of Peace.

"AND now the prisoner at the bar being brought before this Court, for preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, and exhorting a number of people (as presentment) pleads, that this Court hath not jurisdiction of this case; for the facts complained of are warranted by the law of God and the King, and therefore not triable by any Court or law inferior thereto; and this he is ready to verify judgment.

ELISHA PAINE."

"THIS Court having considered the plea of the prisoner, do judge it insufficient; and say, that this Court hath jurisdiction of this case; and the said Paine refused to make any other plea; whereupon it is considered by this Court, that the said Elisha Paine shall become bound to the Treasurer of the county of Windham in the recognizance of One Hundred Pounds lawful money, to his peaceable and good behaviour, that he the said Paine will not again offend in the like kind, between this time and the setting of the County Court, to be holden at Windham, in and for the county of Windham, on the second Tuesday of December next, and then appear at said Court on said day, and take up his bond, unless the Court shall see cause to continue the same; and pay cost of this prosecution, and stand committed until bond is given. Cost allowed, Two Pounds Thirteen Shillings old-tenor bills. The said Paine refused
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to give bond as above mentioned, or any ways to comply with the judgment, and was committed the day and year above written.

NATHANAEL HUNTINGTON,

Justice of Peace.*

By giving security to the keeper, he got liberty to preach in the gaol-yard, which he frequently did to very good purpose. The day after one of those seasons he wrote to his beloved wife and said, "Take no thought for the morrow; the Lord will take care of all his. Be not at all concerned about what the world can do to me; for they are all chained fast, and cannot touch me but by leave of the blessed Jesus, and if you are not afraid of his hurting of me, then be not afraid of the worms of the dust. I trust the Lord is about to do some great thing. It was a day of conviction yesterday, especially among the little ones. I never had so great a sense of the Lord's being angry with the wicked, as yesterday morning. O may he pity you and all Zion! I pray God to keep you and me, and all his, from a wicked and perverse generation, among whom we dwell, and cause us to shine as burning lights. O may he cheer up our souls; humble our natures, by giving the victory to the spirit over the flesh! I know not when I shall be delivered from this pleasant house; I seem to be willing to tarry here just as long as my Father and your Father shall see cause to use me here; though I seem to have a strong persuasion that I shall not tarry here long; but how the Lord will bring it about I know not. Let us leave it to him, and wait with patience until the appointed time shall come. And if I go from prison to Paradise, it will be as sweet as if I went from a throne. I de-

* Paine's view of the churches, p. 20—22.

I desire to commit you, myself, and all ours and his, to the wise disposal of a holy God. So farewell in the Lord Jesus. *Amen.* ELISHA PAINE.

Windham Prison, October 8, 1744."

V. His persecutors soon found that their cause was weakened more by his preaching and conduct in prison, than out of it, and therefore released him about October 19. In the mean time, as their church at Canterbury had no way to avoid hearing a man they were not edified by, but by leaving the meeting-house, they withdrew and held their worship at another house. And two members of it, who had one of them been at Yale college three years, and the other newly entered, when at home in vacation time, met for worship with their church on Lord's days. For this they were convented before the rulers of the college in November; who after hearing and considering of their pleas, said, "Since the principal design of erecting this college (as declared in charter) was to train up a succession of learned and orthodox ministers, by whose instruction and example people might be directed in the ways of religion and good order; therefore to educate persons whose principles and practices are directly subversive of the visible church of Christ, would be contrary to the original design of erecting this society; and we perceive that it would be a contradiction of the civil government, to support a college to educate students to trample upon their own laws, and break up the churches which they establish and protect, especially since the General Assembly, in May, 1742, thought proper to give the governors of the college some special advice and direction upon that account, which was to this effect; that all proper care should be taken to prevent

prevent the scholars imbibing those or such like errors; and that those who would not be orderly and submissive, should not be allowed the privileges of the college. Neither can we conceive that it makes any odds, whether such pernicious errors are imbibed and practised, and the laws of God and the civil government are broken, in or out of the vacancy of the town of New-Haven; or with or without the concurrence of their parents, since the pernicious consequences thereof to the college and religion will be just the same.

THOMAS CLAP, *Rector,*

CHAUNCY WHITTLESEY,

JOHN WHITING,

THOMAS DARLING,

} *Tutors*.*

VI. For these reasons Mr. Paine's two nephews, John and Ebenezer Cleaveland, were expelled from college; and three years after the eldest of them was settled at Ipswich, and the other afterwards at Cape-Ann. Paine was repeatedly cited to appear before the ministers of that county, to answer to complaints they received against him; but he knew their way too well to be drawn into their trap. Twelve of them met November 13, and drew up a paper against him and his brethren, and published it in a news-paper. December 11, a larger number met, and published a pamphlet, as a letter from them to their several societies, which at the foot p. 52 is signed by Joseph Coite, Ebenezer Williams, Joseph Meacham, Samuel Dorrance, Solomon Williams, Jacob Eliot, Marston Cabot, Samuel Moseley, Ephraim Avery, Ebenezer Devotion, Eleazer Wheelock, Abel Stiles, Stephen White, John Bass, Richard Salter, William Throope. A single passage therein will give a plain

* Paine's view, p. 15, 16.

plain idea of the nature of their controversy. Having quoted Deut. xiii. 1—3, as a warning to the people against hearing Mr. Paine and his brethren, they say, “The case here supposed is an attempt to draw the people to idolatry; and this you will say is not your case. These prophets and dreamers endeavour to draw you to Christ, and not from him: But then they endeavour to draw you from his institutions, to a way of worship which he has not instituted. Though the case is not so strong, yet the argument against your compliance is the same; for whatsoever worship God has not instituted and directed in his word, is false worship, and therefore if there seem to be never so many appearances of God’s power attending it, you may not go after, any more than after a false god*.” Now observe, Christ says concerning the field, which is the world, *let both grow together until the harvest*. While he says to the church, *put away from among yourselves that wicked person*. In agreement herewith Mr. Paine applied the first of these precepts to the *State*, and said, “*The church is to cast her tares out, when they appear, or the whole church is leavened†.*” But they contradicted him; and calling the field the visible church, asserted that Christ would not let the servants “Go and root up the tares, even *when they appeared‡.*” Thus those who use secular force in religious affairs, violate the divine command both ways; they obstruct discipline in the church, and invade the rights of conscience and humanity in the State. This was remarkably verified in Canterbury: For November 27 their church met, and sixteen males against twenty-three joined with the parish in sending for their Consociation to ordain Mr. James

A a

Cogswell

* Association letter, p. 43.

† Ibid. p. 10. ‡ Page 21.

Cogswell there; and the Consociation met for that purpose December 26, but not having the majority of the church for him, they could not get along according to their own laws. At length they called the parish together, and got them to declare, by vote, their willingness that the Assembly should set off those who did not choose him from supporting him; "And that they *may have* all legal privileges of a distinct and religious society;" and so went on and ordained him. Which proceeding an advocate for them in 1771 called judicious, cautious, and gentle*. Yet thereby the first church in Canterbury was stripped of all *legal privileges* of a distinct religious society; and because they desired no new incorporation from the Assembly, but only petitioned to be exempted from supporting a teacher they never chose, their petition was disregarded, their goods were torn away, or their persons imprisoned therefor, for fifteen years; and the ministers who ordained him discovered no more compassion towards him, than the priest and Levite did to the man that fell among thieves. This is the plain truth, without any exaggeration.

VII. NEW-ENGLAND now received a second visit from Mr. Whitefield, who came over in a mast-ship, and landed at York, November 2. But how were ministers alarmed at the news! His first coming caused a great shaking among the dry bones; what then could they look for in the present state of the churches? An opposing party in Plymouth, disliking the preaching of the pious Mr. Leonard, had formed a new church there, and Dr. Chauncy preached at the installment of their minister, five days after Whitefield landed; when Chauncy said, "I beseech my fathers

* Fish's examiner examined, p. 76.

thers and brethren in the ministry to *mark this man* who has caused divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid him. Turn your view, my brethren, into all corners of the land: Behold the confusion in towns; the contentions in churches!—Perhaps it will be said, these mischievous things are only accidental effects, and not to be charged upon him. So far from it, that they are the unavoidable consequence of *that spirit* in which he appeared||.” This is undoubted truth; and the reader may judge of the nature of that spirit, by the foregoing and following facts. For the heads of Harvard college soon published a testimony against Whitefield, which was followed with another, by an Association of ministers at Weymouth, January 15, 1745; and a third by an Association at Marlborough, the 22d. The like was done by many other collective bodies, and by individuals. And much pains were taken to persuade the world, that he was a dishonest man, especially because of his saying so much as he had done against unconverted ministers, while himself was a minister of the church of England. A number of answers were returned, by himself and others; some of which we have mentioned under the year 1740. On May 28, 1741, the President of Harvard college delivered a sermon before the annual Convention of ministers at Boston; when referring to Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Tennent he said, “Those two pious and valuable men of God, who have been lately labouring more abundantly among us, have been greatly instrumental in the hand of God to revive this blessed work; and many, no doubt, have been savingly converted from the error of
their

their ways, and many more have been in some measure roused from their lethargy." But being now reminded of this*, his reply was, "Alas, how was I deluded with show and appearance!" And had he and the college now got free from delusion? In the eighth page of their testimony against Whitefield they say, "The believer may have satisfaction, that he hath the assistance of the Spirit of God with him, in so continual and regular a manner, that he may be said to dwell in him, and yet he have *no feeling of it*." But observe, to be *past feeling* is the depth of Pagan darkness, Eph. iv. 19. And one of the worst things that was now alledged against Mr. Whitefield, was his saying their colleges were *in darkness that might be felt*. Therefore it was ingeniously asked upon this occasion, why they need to produce the evidence of their own condemnation†? The heads of Yale college wrote a private letter to him, and he returned an answer, with several pamphlets upon the subject; but they were not satisfied therewith, and therefore published a declaration against him, dated February 25, 1745, wherein they say, "From these two principles which you have laid down, viz. that the generality of ministers are unconverted, and that all unconverted ministers are such baneful and pernicious men, it naturally and necessarily follows, that the people ought to discard them, or separate from them.—If these two principles are right and true, we are satisfied your design is good, and we would readily join with you." But being of a contrary mind, they accused him of a design of rooting out the standing ministers of the country, in order to introduce foreigners in their stead, and asserted that he told
Mr.

* Whitefield's letter to that college, p. 20, 21.

† Hobby's defence of Whitefield, p. 23.

Mr. Edwards a story of that nature*. This Edwards publicly contradicted; neither is there the least evidence since of Whitefield's having any such intent. In August, 1745, I heard him preach at Lebanon, Windham, Norwich, Mohegin and New-London; before which I had never seen him. He then spake against separations; and his plan evidently was, to labour for the conversion and edification of souls, and to leave the building and government of churches to others. In 1768 the Corporation of Harvard college, with the same President at their head, gave him a letter of thanks for his benefactions thereto.

VIII. A YEAR having rolled away, since Canterbury church was robbed of her rights, only for refusing to give up their judgment about soul-guides, to men who ruled with force and cruelty, without the least appearance of any design in them of relinquishing their claims, a number of teachers and brethren met at Mansfield, and having prepared a confession of faith and covenant, and given a verbal account of their experiences to mutual

* *Said declaration*, p. 6—10. The taking of Cape-Breton this year was a very remarkable event. Governor Shirley first proposed the attempt to the Assembly at Boston. By a very small majority they voted to undertake it, and to request assistance therein from other Colonies, January 25; but the vote was no sooner passed, than a general union appeared in carrying it into effect. And such dispatch was made, that an army consisting of 4060 men, under General Pepperell, rendezvoused at Canso, in April, where a small fleet met them, under the command of Sir Peter Warren. The army landed on Cape-Breton April 30, to the great surprize of the enemy; and the strong fortress of Louisburg was given up to them on June 17, 1745. Old Mr. Moody, who went their chaplain, publicly declared a full belief that they should take it, before the army left Boston. Others went away saying, *pray for us, while we fight for you*. That event was a great means of restoring peace to Europe, as well as America.

tual satisfaction, they signed covenant together, October 9, 1745. And they elected Mr. Thomas Marsh for their pastor, who had, for many years, been a deacon in good esteem in the second church in Windham; and his ordination was appointed to be on January 6, 1746. But he was seized the day before, and imprisoned at Windham, for preaching the gospel without licence from the parish ministers. On the day he was to have been ordained, Mr. Elisha Paine preached a suitable sermon, to a great concourse of people, at the close of which about fourteen learned ministers came up, and tried to scatter that flock, after their shepherd was smitten; but they got no advantage against them. In February they chose and ordained Mr. John Hovey for their pastor, who ministered to them for many years*. Mr. Thomas Denison was baptized in July, 1743, and was ordained pastor of a small church at Ashford the November after; but they dissolving, he retracted what is called re-baptizing, and had a chief hand in forming this new church at Mansfield; and he laid on hands and gave the charge, in this and several succeeding ordinations. They held the power of ordination to be in the church; but as others have made great noise about a successive power in ministers, it is to be observed, that Elder Denison was ordained by Elder Moulton, and he by Elder John Callender, who was ordained by Elder Elisha Callender, in whose ordination three of

* The first leader in these separations, and the first pastor they ordained, after much public service and conflict, fell asleep in the beginning of the late war. Mr. Paine was ordained at Bridge-Hampton, on Long-Island, in May, 1752, and preached to his beloved flock, until within fifteen days of his decease, August 26, 1775, æt. 84. Mr. Hovey died October 28 following.

of the most noted Congregational ministers in Boston assisted in 1718. And this line was never broken, by any act of censuring or deposing, as was the case with dissenters from Episcopacy, and also from Popery. With my beloved mother I visited Mr. Marsh in the spring, and found him comfortable in mind; but his body was closely locked up in prison, while a physician, who was put into a room over his head, for giving a single woman a potion to destroy the fruit of her womb, which destroyed her own life, was allowed, with an officer to attend him, to visit the sick in various parts of the town. How much was this like Barabbas and Jesus! In June Mr. Marsh was released, and in July he was ordained a colleague with Hovey; and many such churches were soon after formed and organized*.

IX.

* Messieurs Solomon Paine was ordained at Canterbury September 10, Thomas Stephens at Plainfield September 11, Thomas Denison at Norwich-Farms October 29, Jedidiah Hide at Norwich-Town October 30, *Matthew Smith* at Stonington December 10, John Fuller at Lyme December 25, Joseph Snow at Providence February 12, 1747; Samuel Wadsworth at Killingly June 3, Paul Park at Preston July 15, *Elihu Marsh* at Windham October 7, Ebenezer Frothingham at Wethersfield October 28, Nathanael Shepherd in Attleborough January 20, 1748; *Isaac Backus* at Bridgwater April 13, John Paine at Rehoboth August 3, *William Carpenter* at Norton September 7, *John Blunt* at Sturbridge September 28, *Ebenezer Mack* at Lyme January 12, 1749; Joshua Nickerson at Harwich February 23, Samuel Hide at Bridgwater May 11, John Palmer at Windham May 17, *Samuel Hovey* at Mendon May 31, Samuel Drown at Coventry October 11, Stephen Babcock at Westerly April 4, 1750; *Joseph Hastings* at Suffield April 17, Nathanael Ewer at Barnstable May 10, Joshua Morse at New-London May 17, Jonathan Hide at Brookline January 17, 1751; Ezekiel Cole at Sutton January 31, Ebenezer Wadsworth at Grafton March 20, Nathanael Draper at Cambridge April 24, Peter Werden at Warwick May 17, &c. Those in *Italic* became Baptists afterwards; Drown, Babcock, Morse, Draper and Werden, were so before they were ordained.

Draper

IX. THE Confociation of Windham county had an account of many of these things laid before them January 13, 1747; upon which they adjourned to February 11, and sent citations to the Elders Marsh, the Paines, and Stevens, to return answers to accusations, then received against them. In the mean time the Confociation requested their own churches to keep a day of fasting and prayer, for divine direction. When they met again, they inserted a copy of the Mansfield articles and covenant in their result, with objections against many parts of it; one of which is in these words, viz. "Though most of us agree in the article of infant baptism, yet a difference in that particular doth not break the spiritual communion of saints; therefore it is no just bar to our covenanting and partaking of the ordinances together, wherein we are agreed." This the ministers objected against, as it tended "To let in Anabaptists, and seems (say they) more agreeable to the inclinations of parties than the word of God." And having inserted many reports and reflections against said people, the same were published at Boston, under the title of "The result of a Council of the confociated churches in the county of Windham, relating to the principles and practices of the several bodies of people in said county, who have *separated* from the communion of the churches in this land, and set up an uninstituted worship among themselves;" containing 22 pages in octavo. All their arguments proceed upon the supposition, without proof, that theirs were the instituted churches; and therefore that to separate from them was a revolt from

Draper was a graduate at Yale college, and the only person among them who had such a degree; and he deserted that cause two or three years after.

from God, and a rebellion against his government in the church. And for teaching and exhorting the people without their leave, the before named Elder Frothingham was imprisoned five months, John Paine eleven months, and John Palmer from September, 1747, to January, 1748; all at Hartford. Solomon Paine was imprisoned a fortnight for that cause at Windham, besides much more of like nature done to others. And only for being members and deacons in those separate churches, three gentlemen, at different times, were expelled out of their Legislature; namely, Capt. Obadiah Johnson of Canterbury, Capt. Thomas Stevens of Plainfield (father to their minister) and Capt. Nathan Jewett of Lyme. But overstraining their power weakened it; and it now began to decline.

X. At the election at Hartford, May 12, 1748, Colonel Huntington was again chosen into their Council, out of which he had been excluded five years*. And Solomon Paine came to this Assembly, with a memorial, signed by 330 men; praying for a repeal of all their laws, which debarred any inhabitants in the Colony from the liberty granted by God and tolerated by the King, or that the execution thereof might be forbidden. After long waiting, he had liberty to read and speak to the memorial in the Assembly; and though it was then dismissed, yet some light was communicated thereby.

B b

* He was the 5th son of Deacon Christopher Huntington, the first English male that was born in Norwich, after it was planted in 1660. This son received an early conversion, succeeded his father in the deacon's office, and did much to promote a reformation in the town, in and after 1741. Henceforward, by annual and full elections, he was continued a Counsellor, and for a number of years the first man therein; was Chief Judge of their County Court for twenty years, and a Judge of Probate, until he died in peace, February 10, 1773, æt. 76.

by. In December, 1748, he was prosecuted at Windham Court, for marrying a couple of his own people. His brother came and pleaded his cause. The King's Attorney, in pleading against Solomon, allowed that he was ordained the pastor of a church of Christ in Canterbury, in as solemn a manner as could be; but then pleaded that he was not a civil officer, because not chosen by the majority of the parish, which was the thing which made their ministers civil officers; and he said it was in that capacity that they were supported by tax, and had power to marry persons. And upon this plea the case was turned against him; and also another case at the same time against one of his society, about a tax to a legal minister. Hereupon Mr. Elisha Paine wrote an account of these proceedings to other ministers, to shew the absurdity of their way of professing to be ministers of Christ, and to be supported in the name of the King of England, while their constitution differed essentially from the churches under either of those heads. At the same time they met with a great shock from another quarter.

XI. FOR as long as Mr. Robbins continued a regular minister, and yet was excluded out of their Confociation, it served to weaken their power. A complaint was therefore received against him, May 31, 1743, signed by six of his hearers, before he had any notice of who the complainants were, or what they complained of; and a committee of ministers were appointed to go to him upon it. As soon as he discovered who the complainants were, he went and gave them satisfaction, and they wrote an account of it to said committee; yet they came to him, and insisted upon his being reconciled to their Confociation: This he tried for without success.

How

However, perceiving what a storm was gathering, he drew three confessions, which he carried to another of their meetings; wherein he went as far as he could towards giving them satisfaction, short of confessing that he broke the law of God in preaching to those Baptists, contrary to the desire of Presbyterians. But as he could not in conscience confess that, he returned home, without being reconciled to them.

On May 29, 1745, a second complaint was received against him, without his having previous notice of it, and another committee was sent, who prevailed with him to go and offer them a fourth confession; wherein he pleaded that his ignorance of its being a crime to preach to the Baptists as he did, might apologize for him, so that a reconciliation might be effected*. But they inform us, that instead of accepting what he had drawn, they drew a confession for him to this purpose, viz. "I the subscriber acknowledge, that I am sorry I preached *disorderly* at Wallingford, and prayed at the separation at New-Haven, and promise not to do so again." And only because he refused to sign this, without explaining the word *disorderly*, they say, "The man appeared *stiff* and *self-willed* to the last degree†." Be that as it may, he then went home, and laid the confession they had rejected before his parish, who voted it to be sufficient, and desired him to continue in the ministry with them, and also that no Councils nor committees might be sent there again, without their request. His church met November 4, 1745, and renounced the Saybrook platform, and said, "We receive the scriptures of the old and new testament, as the only perfect rule and platform of church government."

* His narrative, p. 13, 14.

† Their answer, p. 10.

vernment and discipline;" but did not renounce fellowship with the confociated churches*. This in their view was worse than all he had done before; and a third and much larger complaint was received against him, and the Confociation was called to try the same at Branford, September 30, 1746. Their moderator sent a copy of the complaint to him, and said upon it, "You, the said Philemon Robbins, are hereby, *in the name of Christ*, cited and required to appear before the said Confociation, at the time and place aforesaid, then and there to answer the several articles of the said complaint, and thereof you may not fail.

By NATHANIEL CHAUNCY, *Moderator*.
Durham, August 28, 1746.

ROBBINS drew answers to each article, and laid them before his people, who declared their satisfaction therewith; and his church appointed a committee to lay a copy of their votes before the Council, and earnestly to declare against their jurisdiction over them. This was accordingly done; yet they resolved that they had jurisdiction over Mr. Robbins, and went on to hear accusations against him in his absence, and to condemn him in ten articles of his public teaching, without naming any witnesses, or any time or place when or where either of them was delivered. And concerning his conduct they say, "He hath led off a party with him, to rise up against and separate from the ecclesiastical constitution of this Colony, under which this church was peaceably established; reproachfully insinuating, in a church meeting, that under the Saybrook platform it is King-Association, in opposition to Jesus Christ, the only King of the church.—In which articles, upon mature deliberation, we judge

* Robbins's narrative, p. 15.

said Mr. Robbins is criminally guilty of the breach of the third, fifth and ninth commands, and many gospel rules, for which he ought to give Christian satisfaction, by making a confession to the acceptance of this Consociation*." This he was so far from doing, that he published a narrative of the whole affair at Boston. They waited a year, and then met again September 29, 1747, and after telling of their lenity and his obstinacy, they say the Consociation "Do in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, according to the word of God, and the powers invested in this Consociation, by the ecclesiastical constitution of this government, depose the said Mr. Philemon Robbins from his ministerial office, and ministerial and pastoral relation, to the first church in said Branford, and debar and suspend him from communion, in any of the churches. And this Consociation do hereby forbid the said Mr. Philemon Robbins to preach the gospel, or administer the holy sacraments, and suspend him from communion, in any and all the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ, until he shall have, in a public and Christian manner, reflected on himself for the crimes and faults above mentioned, to the satisfaction of the Consociation of this county of New-Haven.

The above voted :

Test,

SAMUEL WHITTLESEY, jun.

ROBERT TREAT,

} Scribes†."

THIS is in an answer to Robbins, said in the title page to be *printed for the Consociation and Association of New-Haven county, 1748*; without any author or printer's name. It represents, that when the Presby-

* Narrative, p. 18—29.

† Their answer, p. 117.

Presbyterian and Congregational churches formed the Saybrook platform, it became their own voluntary contract; and that being established by their Legislature, it became the ecclesiastical constitution of the whole Colony, as much as their charter, which united the Colonies of Hartford and New-Haven in one, was their civil constitution: And that Mr. Robbins and his church had no more right to renounce their jurisdiction, than his parish had to renounce the authority of the civil government of Connecticut*: That a toleration was never intended to destroy an establishment; and that as the Baptists he preached to had not fully complied with the act of toleration, they were not an orderly society, "But only a number of men that in a *disorderly* manner refused submission to their pastor." And they accuse Robbins of intruding himself into the *bishoprics* of Mr. Whittlesey, at Wallingford, and of Mr. Noyes, at New-Haven||. To prove which they quote the same scriptures that Dr. Chauncy, their champion, had cited before; one of which, they say, means "In plain English, his doing the office of a bishop in another's diocese; and this the apostle ranks with some of the greatest crimes, 1 Pet. iv. 15†." But who formed those diocesses! Because Robbins laid his fourth confession, which they rejected, before his parish, who voted that it was sufficient, the Association observed, that a freehold rated at fifty shillings, or forty pounds, in the common lists, made every inhabitant a voter in such meetings, and from thence they exclaimed against him for that procedure, saying, "What if half the society were scandalous persons‡!" Ay, what indeed! how

* Ibid. p. 86, 94, 112. || Page 6, 8, 106.

† Page 43. ‡ Page 101.

how dreadful must the consequence be! just such as Connecticut had felt for forty years! For their laws made such votes equal to the votes of the best saints among them, in the choice of their Legislature. And an Assembly thus chosen broke over their own law, and elected an ordained minister for their Governor; by whose influence the Saybrook scheme was formed and established, without allowing the churches liberty to say whether their ministers should meet to form it or not. And now, because Mr. Robbins continued to preach the gospel to his people, a complaint was carried to their Legislature against him, with a prayer that he might be turned out of his pulpit, so that a regular man might be introduced in his stead. This was so far from being granted, that a Council was appointed out of other counties, who prevailed with said Confociation to restore Mr. Robbins to a seat with them, which he held until his death in 1781; but his church sent no messengers with him. In October, 1749, their Assembly revived their act, concerning the Saybrook establishment in 1708, and their acts in 1729, to exempt Quakers and Baptists from it; and ordered a new edition of their laws, which were printed in 1750; out of which were excluded all their persecuting acts since the late revival of religion, without a formal repeal of any of them. And Governor Wolcott published a pamphlet against the Saybrook scheme. Governor Fitch published another to explain away its power, which has been upon the decline ever since.

C H A P. X.

1. Errors and Difficulties among the Separates. 2. Unjust Treatment of them. 3. Edwards's Case. 4. Increase and Sufferings of the Baptists. 5. Others oppressed. 6. The Evil thereof well exposed. 7. Agents sent to England against it.

I. **R**EFORMATION has ever been attended with great difficulties. Declension is natural to fallen men, but a return to the right way is not so. When Israel came out of Egypt, a mixed multitude went up. And when David withdrew from Saul's tyranny, many resorted to him, not only of his kindred, but also of every one that was in distress, in debt, and that were discontented; yet when it was said of his cause in general, there be many servants now-a-days that break away, every man for his master, the scripture calls it *railing*, and gives the person who uttered it the character of a *fool* or *madman*. But how full is our world of such folly and madness! David became the Captain of those who resorted to him; but the people, who now came out from the above-described tyranny over the churches, had no such commander. Even the father who led them out had too much knowledge, and cautious deliberation, to be long followed as their chief guide; and he retired to a distant island, and settled there. Such evils had been practised under the name of learning, orthodoxy and regu-

regularity, that many were prejudiced against the truth of what others falsely called by those names. Christian liberty had been so much invaded, that many ran into licentiousness to avoid tyranny. The right which the gospel gives to every saint, freely to improve their several gifts, for mutual edification, had been so much denied, that frequent instances were now seen, of persons putting themselves forward in exercises which they had not a gift for; being so earnest to maintain the liberty of speaking, as not duly to regard others right of judging. And as some precious ministers had evidently lost much of their former life and freedom, by their attempts to correct errors, disorders and imprudences, a number of pious souls were afraid of appearing against almost any thing that wore the garb of power and life in religion. And the example of the Erskines in Scotland, who came out of their national church for reformation, and yet rejected Mr. Whitefield, because he would not come into all their measures, was held up as a warning here, against stopping in what any had already attained to. And just in this juncture a man came from Windham to Norwich, in the summer of 1746, with a proclamation of liberty, and an opening of the latter day glory; exclaiming against the legal bondage of praying every night and morning in families, whether persons felt a spirit of prayer or not; declaring that if they had not a spirit of prayer, God did not then call them to pray; and so of other duties. In this way fundry persons, chiefly at Windham, proceeded, until they asserted that they had passed the first resurrection, and were perfect and immortal; and one of them declared that he was Christ. But this spirit soon carried them into knavery in tem-

poral dealings, intemperance, and what not? About the beginning of 1748, some people in Cumberland advanced the opinion, that if a saint found that he or she had not been married to the person that was made for them, they were not held by legal bonds from a right now to take their true mate, if they saw who it was. Hereupon an only child of a rich father, not living comfortably with her husband, ventured to reject him, and to lodge with another man. Some brethren of Attleborough hearing of it, went to labour with her father, and others, to turn them from this delusion; but he said he did not believe there was any harm in it, for they lay with the bible between them. But to his sorrow and shame his daughter proved to be with child, by her new companion, and her husband obtained a legal divorce from her. About the same time, a member of the first church in Canterbury declared that it was revealed to him, that a certain single woman would become his wife, though he then had a wife and children. For such conversation the church called him to an account; and, after seven months labour, they excommunicated him on September 27, 1749. In the winter following he purchased some mercury at Norwich, and it was judged that the woman he had a fancy for poisoned two children, they giving out that a new and strange distemper was come among them, and then poisoned his wife, so that all the three died. This was not doubted to be the fact, though she was acquitted upon trial in Court, and he married her, and afterwards went into the war, and died in Canada. Some of her relations were called to an account, and were cast out of the church in Canterbury, for perjury, when acting as witnesses in Court upon that case.

II. Now

II. Now though no actors in the two first of these scenes of iniquity were ever members of any of those Separate churches, and said church had so clearly acquitted themselves of the third, yet ministers, even from their pulpits, through the whole country, cast these scandals upon the Separate cause in general, to prove the dreadful danger and effects of separating from them; and the populace were very ready to follow their guides, in this way of slander and railing. Such glaring injustice to their character, added to much violence upon their persons and estates, served greatly to confirm them in their way; and to guard their minds against receiving any instruction or correction from men who treated them so abusively. A first principle of their separation was, that the leadings of the divine spirit are ever to be followed, and not fleshly wisdom, nor man's inventions; but how little was the meaning and right application of this principle understood? When it was asserted, that none but the regenerate ought to be admitted to full communion, ministers would answer, that you cannot know who they are. And when it was mentioned, that our Lord says, *ye shall know them by their fruits*; the question was shifted, whether they held to a satisfactory or an infallible knowledge? which dispute was often carried to extremes on both sides. And as many would confine the word fruits to dry morality, others ran to the opposite extreme, and formed their judgments of persons by their inward feelings towards them, rather than upon an intelligible view of what came from them by words and actions. The evils also which many had suffered from an overbearing majority, turned some to plead against receiving any members till every individual had fellowship

fellowship with them, and the like in other church acts. At length they found that hereby the least member might tyrannize over the whole church. Again, though the undue power of Councils had been much complained of, yet the Separates run into that evil in a new way. When Councils were called, they were received into fellowship with the church that wanted advice; and when they had heard the case, and given their advice, in many instances the Council acted with the church in censuring delinquents; though sometimes there were more of the Council than of the acting members of the church. After some years this practice was dropt. Other mistakes will appear in the course of this history.

III. HAVING good men against them in the cause of reformation was matter of peculiar trial. It was as much so with regard to Mr. Edwards, as any one man. His success was very great, and by acting upon Mr. Stoddard's doctrine, the church in Northampton was become very numerous; into which he essayed to bring gospel discipline, in 1744. But when some of their chief families perceived that it would expose their own conduct, they were inflamed against Mr. Edwards. And though it could not be honorable to reject such an eminent minister on that account; yet finding that he had turned from good old Mr. Stoddard's doctrine, that change was eagerly taken hold of, as a cover for their resentment. And all his prudent endeavours could never bring that church, as a body, to give him a fair hearing of his reasons for altering his sentiments upon that point: They were therefore published at Boston this year. Some of his clearest proofs against admitting unsanctified persons to the ordinance of the supper, are Rom. ii.

29, vi. 1—4. Phil. iii. 3, Col. ii. 11, 12. From whence he says, “*That baptism, by which the primitive converts were admitted into the church, was used as an exhibition and token of their being visibly regenerated, dead to sin, and alive to God. The saintship, godliness and holiness, of which, according to scripture, professing Christians and visible saints do make a profession and have a visibility, is not any religion and virtue that is the result of common grace, or moral sincerity (as it is called) but saving grace*.*” Which point was the capital article that the Separate churches were built upon; but for fear it should be improved in their favour, he reminded the reader of what he had said against them, in his treatise on the affections, and in Brainard’s life; and then said, “I am still of the same mind concerning their lay-ordinations, their lay-preachings, and public exhortings, and administering sacraments; their assuming, self-confident, contentious, uncharitable, separating spirit†.” And yet he lived remote from almost all the numerous communities whom he thus censured, and knew but very little of the real state of their controversy. The excellent rules which he had published seven years before, were then out of his mind; namely, to judge of a work by the real nature of it, and not by the circumstances and means of its introduction; to make the scriptures the whole rule to judge by; and well to distinguish between the good and the bad among the subjects of the work||. A due regard to these rules of his own would have prevented the above reflections, as well as many things in the two other books named. A Separate minister, in the east part of Connecticut, wrote to Mr. Edwards

* On a right to sacraments, p. 20—23.

† Preface, p. 5. || Thoughts on the work, 1742, p. 1—40.

Edwards upon this subject, and in particular desired him to answer two questions. 1. As he had described an excellent new house, how we could get into it without going out of the old one, which was in a ruined condition? 2. What he meant by the word *lay*, which he so often used; whether the same as the *Latin* church did? He returned an answer, wherein he allowed the old house to be in a ruinous condition; but thought we were not yet called to leave it. And to explain what he meant by laymen, he had recourse to the old opinion about a successive power in ministers; but he soon after felt such effects of that power, as he hardly could have believed before.

For his people were so uneasy, that he agreed to call a mutual Council of ten churches, to settle the controversy betwixt them: But in the large county of Hampshire, which then included Berkshire also, he could find but three ministers of his judgment, upon the point in dispute; and the church was strenuous against allowing him liberty to go out of that county for the other two whom he was to choose. At length they yielded so far; but when the Council met, one of the churches had refused to send to it; so that though their minister was received to act in the Council, yet he had no delegate with him; therefore Mr. Edwards was *separated* from his dear flock, by the major vote of only one delegate in that Council. And the only charge that they had against him they stated in these words, viz. "The pastor insisting upon it as necessary to the admission of members to full communion, that they should make a profession of *sanctifying grace*; whereas the brethren are of the opinion, that the Lord's supper is a converting ordinance, and consequently that persons, if they have
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a competency of knowledge, and are of a blameless life, may be admitted to the Lord's table, although they make *no such profession**." And Dr. Solomon Williams, who wrote against him, says, "Nothing should be expressed in the words of the profession, but what some *unsanctified men* may say and speak true." And he was a chief actor in all that the ministers of Windham county had done against the Separates. And Mr. Edwards, who had been moved to censure them so hardly, yet was now *separated* from the people he dearly loved, upon the same point; and he removed and settled at Stockbridge, where he became more extensively serviceable to mankind; especially by his incomparable treatise upon the liberty of the will, and his answer to Taylor on original sin; both of which have been reprinted in London. At last he was chosen President of New-Jersey college; but soon died there of the small-pox, March 22, 1758, æt. 56.

IV. THE fundamental principle above described, naturally leads to the exclusion of infant sprinkling; but the generality of those who came out in separation had no such idea. The Mansfield articles held up internal union as the rule of church communion, although persons were of different sentiments about baptism; but there were very few Baptists in any of their churches before 1749. In June that year Elder Moulton baptized thirteen members of the Separate church in Sturbridge, one of whom was Deacon Daniel Fisk; and in a little time after all their officers, and the main body of the church, were baptized, even above three-score persons. The exempting law for Baptists had again expired

* Result of the Council at Northampton, June 22, 1750, p. 3, 4. And Edwards's life. || Answer to Edwards, p. 47.

expired in 1747, when it was revived and continued for ten years. And in order that the benefit of it might be extended to that society, two principal members of the second Baptist church in Boston wrote a certificate in their favour to Sturbridge assessors, Jan. 23, 1750. And in May following two principal members of the Baptist church in Sturbridge gave in a list of their society according to law; yet they were all again taxed to Mr. Caleb Rice, a minister in that town. And, only for this and the following year, five men were imprisoned at Worcester, three oxen and eight cows were taken away, and a great deal of other property, for such taxes. Aaron Allen was the collector who did it for 1750, and Jonathan Mason for 1751. The first took a good cow from David Morse, a ruling elder in said Baptist church, for a tax of One Pound One Shilling and Fourpence; and the other took a pair of oxen from him, valued at Eleven Pounds, for a tax of less than Five Dollars. Such havoc did they make of their neighbours goods, under religious pretences! Sundry prosecutions were commenced against those collectors; and when one of the cases came to the Superior Court, both parties agreed to refer it to the judges; and they gave judgment in favour of the Baptists. This gave a shock to their oppressors; but a scheme was soon contrived to nonsuit the other actions commenced; and that was by pleading, that the suit should have been against the assessors, and not the collectors. By this trick Mr. Morse was injured to the value of above Twenty Pounds; and the whole society estimated their damages at more than a Hundred Pounds. And in a warrant for their town-meeting of March 2, 1752, an article was inserted, to see if the town would indemnify

demnify their collector for his expences, in the action which was turned against him. Moses Marcy, Esq; was Moderator, and as this article was objected to, it was proposed to raise the money by subscription, and they enquired how much it was. Upon which the Moderator drew out and read a paper, containing an account of "So much for going to a lawyer, and so many dollars given to Col. Brattle at one time, and so many to another man," &c. and he said the whole, with the execution, amounted to above Twenty Pounds. This moved the people so, that it did not seem likely that they would vote it by itself; therefore, contrary to law, (which was insisted upon by the Baptists present) that article was blended with another about school-money, and the vote was carried, whereby the Baptists were again taxed to pay the expences of an illegal law-suit against themselves*. And this was not enough; but said Moderator, who was a member of the Legislature, moved them so with these things, that when they met November 22, 1752, they broke in upon their own law, and enacted, that the minister, with two principal members of the Baptist church, should sign their certificates for the future; and also that no minister or church should have any power to give lawful certificates, until they shall have obtained "From three other churches, commonly called Anabaptists, in this or the neighbouring Provinces, a certificate from each respectively, that they esteem such church to be of their denomination, and that they conscientiously believe them to be Anabaptists." All such certificates to be lodged with the town-clerk where

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* These facts about said meeting were sworn to by three men at Worcester, August 31, 1753, one of whom was Deacon Daniel Fisk, who died a member of our Legislature in 1778.

the Baptists lived, before their several assessments were made. This act to continue in force five years. And said Moderator presented a petition to the Assembly in June following, that all the unimproved lands in Sturbridge might be taxed to his minister; but did not obtain it. It is to be observed, that those who lately became Baptists were not in fellowship with most of the old Baptist churches; therefore this act was passed to prevent their being exempted from taxes to State worship. It also required them to certify a conscientious belief of a point which they never did believe, viz. That they were Anabaptists (*rebaptizers*) a name of reproach cast upon them by their persecutors.

V. AND among the many instances that discovered how tenacious our oppressors were of their taxing power to support worship, take the following. Esther White, of Raynham, had a small interest left her, for which she was taxed *Eightpence* to the parish minister, from whom she had withdrawn four years; and she seriously declared that it was against her conscience to pay it. Therefore, for no more than that sum, she was seized on February 28, 1752, and was imprisoned at Taunton until March, 1753, when said minister's own people were constrained to go and release her, without her paying any acknowledgment to that taxing power. She soon after became a Baptist, and continued to give abiding evidence of true piety, until she died in peace in 1774. The case of Framingham, twenty-five miles westward of Boston, affords a further demonstration of the iniquity of supporting ministers by tax and compulsion. The Honorable Edward Goddard, Esq; formerly one of the Council in this Province, with other fathers of that town, could not concur with the majority in the settlement

settlement of a minister; and by the advice of other ministers they became an organized church by themselves in 1747, and wanted nothing but the sanction of the civil power, to make them as regular and orthodox a society in law as any others were. But as they were zealous friends to the late revival of religion, such an incorporation was denied them. And they had been all taxed to a minister they never chose, for six years before the publication upon the subject, which is quoted in the appendix to vol. 1, p. 8, 15. Three years after their minister left them, and a Baptist society is now formed among them. And Connecticut still kept pace with the Massachusetts in oppression, of which the place of the author's nativity now exhibited a striking example. A widow who had withdrawn from their worship seven years, and steadily attended and supported worship in another church, gives so clear an account of it, that her letter is here presented to the reader, without adding or diminishing a word.

VI. "*Norwich, November 4, 1752*."

"*My dear Son,*

"I HAVE heard something of the trials amongst you of late, and I was grieved, till I had strength to give up the case to God, and leave my burthen there. And now I would tell you something of our trials. Your brother Samuel lay in prison twenty days. October 15 the collectors came to our house, and took me away to prison about nine o'clock, in a dark rainy night. Brothers Hill and Sabin were brought there the next night: We lay in prison thirteen days, and then set at liberty, by what means I know

* By act of Parliament eleven days were taken out between the 2d and 14th of September this year; but as it was not done in our almanack, this date was in old stile.

I know not. Whilst I was there a great many people came to see me ; and some said one thing and some another. O the innumerable snares and temptations that beset me, more than I ever thought on before ! But, O the condescension of heaven ! though I was bound when I was cast into this furnace, yet was I loosed, and found Jesus in the midst of the furnace with me. O then I could give up my name, estate, family, life and breath, freely to God. Now the prison looked like a palace to me. I could bless God for all the laughs and scoffs made at me. O the love that flowed out to all mankind ! Then I could forgive as I would desire to be forgiven, and love my neighbour as myself. Deacon Griswold was put into prison the 8th of October, and yesterday old brother Grover, and are in pursuit of others ; all which calls for humiliation. This church hath appointed the 13th of November to be spent in prayer and fasting on that account. I do remember my love to you and your wife, and the dear children of God with you, begging your prayers for us in such a day of trial. We are all in tolerable health, expecting to see you. These from your loving mother, ELIZABETH BACKUS."

SOME time after her brother, Mr. Isaac Tracy, was imprisoned for the same cause, while he was a member of their Legislature ; and they furiously went on, in imprisoning of persons and spoiling of goods, to support State worship, for eight years, till the spiritual weapons of truth and love vanquished those carnal weapons ; and they have not been so used in Norwich for these many years past. And as great a victory was also gained in Canterbury. The fall after Mr. Elisha Paine was settled on Long-Island, he came over to Canterbury for some necessaries for his family, when Samuel Adams,

Adams, a collector, seized and imprisoned him at Windham, on November 21, 1752; where he wrote thus, "I cannot but marvel to see how soon the children will forget the sword that drove their fathers into this land, and take hold of it as a jewel, and kill their grand-children therewith. O! that men could see how far this is from Christ's rule! That all things that we would have others do unto us, that we should do even so unto them. I believe the same people that put this authority into the hands of Mr. Cogswell, their minister, to put me into prison for not paying him for preaching, would think it very hard for the church I belong to, and am pastor of, if they should get the upper hand, and tax and imprison him, for not paying what he should be so unjustly taxed at; and yet I can see no other difference, only because the power is in his hands: For I suppose he has heard me as often as I ever have him; yet he hath taken by force from me two cows and one steer, and now my body held in prison, only because the power is in his hands." And on December 11 he wrote to Canterbury assessors, and said, "To you, gentlemen, practitioners of the law, from your prisoner in Windham gaol, because his conscience will not let him pay to a minister that is set up by the law of Connecticut, contrary to his conscience and consent. The Roman Emperor was called Pontifex Maximus, because he presided over civil and ecclesiastical affairs; which is the first beast who persecuted the Christians that separated from their established religion, which they called the holy religion of their forefathers; and by their law fined, whipt, imprisoned, and killed such as refused obedience thereto. We all own that the Pope or Papal throne is the second beast, because he is head
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of the ecclesiastical, and meddles with civil affairs; and for which he is also stiled Pontifex Maximus, or High Priest. He also compels all under him to submit to his worship, decrees and laws, by whips, fines, prisons, fire and faggots. Now what your prisoner requests of you, is a clear distinction between the ecclesiastical constitution of Connecticut, by which I am now held here in prison, and the aforesaid two thrones or beasts, in the foundation, constitution and support thereof. For if by scripture and reason you can shew they do not all stand on the throne mentioned in Psalm xciv. 20, but that the latter is founded on the rock Christ Jesus, I will confess my fault, and soon clear myself of the prison. But if this constitution hath its rise from that throne, then come forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty; for better is it to die for Christ, than to live against him. From an old friend to this civil constitution, and long your prisoner,

ELISHA PAINE."

VII. FIVE days after he was released; but the extremity of the winter hindered him a great while from getting over to his family, who suffered much in an unfinished house, for want of his help. Mr. Solomon Paine published this year a view of the difference between the church of Christ, and the churches established by law in Connecticut. And though the contest was hot for eight years longer, yet it then abated, and in 1771 Mr. Cogswell was dismissed; and such taxes were entirely dropt in the place, and a number of actors therein were brought to confess their faults for the same. In the mean time, another unsuccessful address to their Assembly, signed by a large number of men, was presented in 1753. After which twenty churches joined in a memorial to the King in Council,

cil, supported by authentic records and testimonies, to which Governor Fitch affixed the seal of the Colony; and Mr. Blifs Willoughby, and Mr. Moses Morfe, carried it to London in 1756. But having laid it before the deputation and committee for the Dissenters, whereof Dr. Avery was Chairman, they judged that if those plain violations of charter rights were presented to the King in Council, it would endanger the taking away of Connecticut charter; which the petitioners were by no means willing for. Therefore said Agents returned in 1757; and said committee wrote to Connecticut rulers against those oppressions. And by their advice a process in executive Courts was commenced, with a design of carrying it to England by way of appeal; but having proceeded some ways therein, they dropt it.

C H A P.

C H A P. XI.

- I. A Change among the Baptist Churches.
2. Especially in Narraganset.
3. Their Mistakes did not hinder the prevailing of their Sentiments.
4. The Author's Case.
5. His Settlement in the Ministry.
6. How he became a Baptist.
7. Two General Meetings about it.
8. The true State of the Controversy.
9. A new Baptist Church formed.

I. **T**IMOTHY PACKOM was an aged and pious member of the second church in Newport, before a division took place therein, in the following manner. Daniel Greene, a gifted member of it, experienced a sudden turn in his mind, from general to particular redemption: And in the fall of 1739 James Brown joined with him, and brought a charge, in general terms, into their church against Elder Eyres, of his wanting the gospel qualifications of an elder; and then named some instances of apparent anger and severity against members who did not concur with his measures, to prove it. This caused much unhappiness: At length on January 10, 1740, he read to the church a general confession of his imperfections in those respects; and they voted the same to be satisfactory. Said brethren enquired

enquired whether he meant to confess the particulars they had mentioned, but could obtain no answer from him, nor a copy of his confession. This appeared so grievous that they went and complained of it to their brethren of North-Kingstown, who sent to enquire into the matter. For these things Greene and Brown were censured; and Packom and others joined with them, and carried their complaints to one general meeting of their churches at Swanzey, and to another at Providence; and not obtaining satisfaction, they formed a new church, and got some of their elders to ordain Mr. Packom as pastor of it. And in 1742 they published a vindication of themselves in these proceedings. But private letters afterwards from each of those men, to Elder Eyres and his church, express deep sorrow for those hasty proceedings, and their want of a fruitful understanding, humility and candour, with their zeal therein; for which they earnestly desired forgiveness. But not seeing their way clear to return into full fellowship with that church, a removal of their censure was denied them. Greene, in a letter July 2, 1745, gives the following as the chief reason why he could not commune with said elder, viz. "So far as I can gather, thou believest, that man's salvation, conditionally bestowable, is the free purchase of Jesus Christ, and so the free gift of God: But then that the security of the bestowment, or obtaining this salvation, doth turn and depend upon a condition, which is so left to man to perform, that it may or may not be performed; not as God himself shall be pleased absolutely to cause, but as man, supposed to be a self-inclining agent, shall of himself be disposed, in the improvement or misimprovement of divine assistance. Whereas I be-

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lieve, I think, with all my heart, that man is in no respect an independent agent; and that if he obtains salvation, it is not owing to himself at all; but that his salvation, and its whole security to him, depend altogether upon the free pleasure and causation of Almighty God, who worketh all things according to the council of his own will, working in his children both to will and to do of his own good pleasure." Such ideas, but not so clear, were impressed upon David Sprague's mind, before he began to preach, in the Baptist church in Scituate; where he was told, that if he went on in that way he would become as bad an *electioner* as any of the Presbyterians. This, as he informed me, turned him in a great measure into their general way of preaching; and he was settled in that way, at North-Kingstown, about the time of the abovesaid division at Newport.

II. By the labours of Separate ministers many were converted, and a Baptist church was formed in Coventry, and a pastor was ordained in it October 11, 1749. Elder Sprague went there, and prevailed with to assist, with other Baptists, in that ordination. And he there got such an acquaintance with some Separate elders, as to invite them to come and preach in the Narragansett country. This was done with very extensive effects; and Sprague was drawn so far as to act with Solomon Paine in Elder Babcock's ordination the next spring; which was then the first instance of the union of the two denominations in such acts. The majority of the church at North-Kingstown grew so uneasy, that above seventy of them, male and female, signed a paper May 20, 1750, which divided the church. They therein represent, that their church was of about forty years standing, and that good order had generally

rally been kept up in it, until within the last seven years. " Since that, say they, our elder and some of the brethren have imbibed doctrines which neither we nor our general community ever did choose should be brought into the church. The doctrines crowded upon us were, 1. That Adam, by his eating the forbidden fruit, did bring mankind under condemnation in respect to the life which is to come at the day of judgment. 2. That every person who is truly converted, cannot, in the course of his life, sin himself out of God's blessings at the day of judgment. 3. That it was a duty for Christians to sing, with loud and joined voices, with rhyme and tunes of man's composition, in public assemblies." These doctrines and their effects were then shut out of their meeting-house; though they proposed to leave it to others to settle the matter with their dissenting brethren about their interest therein. Upon which Elder Sprague, and those who were of his sentiments, constituted a church in Exeter, and several other churches were soon after formed in those parts, in fellowship with them.

III. SOME among them, who had been baptized in the time of their former darkness, were now baptized again; which moved Elder Eyres to write to Elder Sprague about it, December 1, 1750, and a stop was put thereto. Also a sight of former divisions, upon circumstantial, carried a few so far into the opposite extreme, as to admit some to table communion without any water baptism at all. There were at least two instances of this, the one at Exeter, the other at Warwick; but that practice was soon over. And these and other mistakes could not hinder an extensive spread of believers baptism among the Separate churches; whose

whose elders, Mack of Lyme, Stearns of Tolland*, Hastings of Suffield, Meacham of Enfield, Marshal of Somers, and others, were baptized. But fierce opposition being raised against what was called *rebaptizing*, which was represented to be a most wicked and pernicious thing, several teachers and others retracted their acting therein. And as the author's refusing to follow their example brought him to be a public object of resentment, and succeeding events have made him more extensively so, a clear idea of this part of our history cannot be given, without a more distinct account of his personal conduct, and the motives thereof, than otherwise would have been expedient and becoming. This he thinks is confirmed by ancient examples. Acts xi. 2—18, xxii. 3—21.

IV. His being born of religious parents, and having a religious (though not what is called a liberal) education, he has ever esteemed an unspeakable favour. Yet he neglected the great salvation for more than seventeen years, because he secretly imagined that it would abridge his present liberty and comfort; and also, that when he got ready to set about the work in good earnest, God would be moved to help, pardon and save him. But in May, 1741, his eyes were opened to see, that time was not at his command, and that

* Elder Shubael Stearns (having baptized Noah Alden, in July, 1754, and left him to preach to the part of his society who remained there) set off with others for North-Carolina; and he, Jonathan Polk, Daniel Marshal, and others, were instrumental of a great work in those parts. I am well informed that from thence have sprung a large number of Baptist churches; which, by a blessing upon the succeeding labours of many, now extend through various parts of Virginia, North and South-Carolina, and into Georgia.

that eternity was directly before him, into which he might justly be called the next moment. Then he knew what it was to work for his life for three months; until on August 24, as he was alone in the field, it was demonstrated to his mind and conscience, that he had done his utmost to make himself better, without obtaining any such thing; but that he was a guilty sinner in the hands of a holy God, who had a right to do with him as seemed good in God's sight; which he then yielded to, and all his objections against it were silenced. And soon upon this a way of relief was opened to his soul, which he never had any true idea of before, wherein truth and justice shine with lustre, in the bestowment of free mercy and salvation upon objects who have nothing in themselves but badness. And while this divine glory engaged all his attention, his burthen of guilt and evil dispositions was gone, and such ideas and inclinations were implanted in his heart as were never there before, but which have never been rooted out since, though often over-clouded. Hereupon he was led to make a profession of religion, in the church where he had always attended worship, and to walk therein for about two years. But then their minister obtained a vote in the church, to empower him to admit communicants by a major vote, without giving the church so much as a written relation of any inward change. It also appeared that the minister inclined to think that the ordinance of the supper was a converting ordinance; and he discovered a strong affection for the Saybrook scheme, which the church had rejected just before they settled him. The author therefore withdrew from that church, about the time that Canterbury church was robbed of their rights, in the manner before described.

described. He had no expectation of entering into the work of the ministry, until September, 1746; and the grounds he acted upon then are described in his discourse, published eight years after, entitled, *The nature and necessity of an internal call to preach the gospel*. The manner of his settling among the people he still ministers to, here follows.

V. In a place called Titicut, upon the river between Bridgwater and Middleborough, a powerful work was wrought, in and after the year 1741, chiefly by means of the preaching of Mr. Elieb Byram; which moved the people to petition for a new precinct, in order to settle him as their minister: But the matter was delayed until he was gone and settled in New-Jersey. And after Titicut precinct was constituted, in February, 1743, ministers refused to dismiss the communicants therein, so as to form a new church, lest they should call a minister whom they did not approve of. They were thus denied the rights which both the laws of God and man allowed them, until the brethren determined not to be restrained by such tyranny any longer; but came out and began to worship by themselves on December 13, 1747. The author was then unknown to them, and they to him; but by the disposal of Providence he was brought among them the next Saturday, in company with Mr. Snow, of Providence, who stayed and laboured ten days with remarkable effects; and the author was prevailed with to tarry and preach among them. And the precinct committee, perceiving that open opposition would then be in vain, came and requested him to preach to them, and to take regular steps for settlement. He informed them, that he was willing to act regularly according to the gospel, but could not submit to the

the power that ministers and parishes had assumed over the churches, which was contrary thereto. Yet they requested him, and he consented, to preach to them for a while. Such a revival took place as produced the hopeful conversion of about twenty souls, and the quickening of many others. A church was formed February 16, 1748, which increased to threescore members in ten months. But the opposite party met in March, and voted a large sum of money to finish their meeting-house, and to hire other sort of preaching, and assessed it upon all the inhabitants. Therefore our society, on November 21, drew an address to them, to remind them of past transactions, and to invite them into a reconciliation; or, if not, yet to intreat them not to violate the golden rule in their dealings towards us. They returned an answer which says, "What we demand of you is equal and right; what you demand of us is evil and sinful; and hence we have the golden rule upon our side, while you are receding and departing from it." And they went so far as to call it "Gross ignorance and enthusiasm" for any to deny that Christian rulers have a right to compel their subjects to receive and support orthodox ministers. And February 6, 1749, the author was seized as a prisoner, for Thirteen Shillings and Fourpence assessed upon him in said tax. But as he refused to pay it, they after about three hours confinement settled it among themselves. This was the best reward they ever offered him for preaching two months at their request. One of his brethren was imprisoned at Plymouth for said tax. But when distress was made upon another of his hearers, they were prosecuted therefor, and it was found upon trial that said money was voted at an illegal meeting. They therefore appealed to the Superior Court; and in the mean

mean time, on December 14, 1749, procured an act of the Legislature which says, "That the proceedings of the meeting mentioned in the petition be and they hereby are held and deemed good and valid in law, the defect of the notification for calling said meeting notwithstanding." And by virtue of this act the case was turned against the appellee in the next trial; which shews that a worship supported by tax, is *partiality* established by law. In June preceding a memorial against it was carried to the Assembly at Boston, by Mr. John Paine, and Mr. Samuel Peck, signed by a large number of men; but it was rejected; as a like memorial also was in 1754.

VI. As to baptism, disputes about it were first brought into the church in Titicut in August, 1749; and a disagreeable temper was soon discovered, and much heat in debates, for three weeks. And as the author was essaying, in his secret approaches to the throne of grace, to give up this case to God, a sudden conclusion came in, that the Baptist way is certainly right, because nature fights so against it. And he was hurried on to preach it up the next day; which caused confusion among the hearers, and returned with a horrible gloom over his own mind; and he was turned back to his former practice. Hereupon a number of the church drew off, and ten persons were baptized in September by Elder Moulton. About three months after, when the heat of controversy was abated, the question was put to his conscience, in his retired hours, Where is it, and in what relation to the church do those stand, who are baptized, but not converted? He could see that all the circumcised were obliged to keep the passover; and had seen that there was no half-way in the Christian church, nor any war-
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rant to admit any to communion therein without a credible profession of saving faith. No tongue can tell the distress he now felt. The neglect of gospel discipline a little before, lay heavy upon his mind; and the disputes and divisions in the church greatly added to his burthen. And near the close of 1749, a number of people in Easton and Norton made so high a profession of being led into believers baptism, that no ordained minister in the land would do to administer it to them. But they met by a place of water, and one would baptize another, and then he the next; so that about twenty persons were dipped, by four or five administrators among themselves. Parting from their lawful wives and husbands, and taking of others, immediately followed; until some bastard children were born among them, with many other abominations. Could the author therefore have discovered any foundation for his former practice, he would most certainly have continued therein: But all his efforts failing, he was at last brought to the old standard; so as to leave good men and bad men out of the question, and enquire, *what saith the scripture?* Hereby a settlement was granted, and he was baptized August 22, 1751.

VII. THE difficulties were become so great in the church, that a mutual Council of five churches was called, October 2; who after long labour brought sixteen members to renew their covenant to go on together, and the Council declared fellowship with them, and censured all the rest, and solemnly charged those sixteen to follow all the other members with labour, until they were recovered to fellowship, or cut off by discipline. Three of the sixteen were Baptists, and no hint was given of breaking communion between the two denominations. The author had no objection then against

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their advice, but was held back about a month by inward discouragements. But getting relief therefrom, he came forward, and was freely received in his office by all but two of those brethren; and they refused to receive him, unless he would baptize infants. A close labour was hereby brought on, and it was most fully declared, that we meant to give free liberty to every one to act according to his conscience in that respect; but to require a man to administer an ordinance in the name of God, which he saw no command for, was requiring him to wrong his own conscience, to satisfy others. Yet those two brethren, who had lately renewed their covenant, refused to walk with their elder, or with those who received him, unless he would sprinkle infants. For this schism in the body they were censured; and, after ten months labours, were excommunicated. In the midst of which time five Baptists were censured for refusing to commune with this body. Those two were no sooner cast out than they sent for three of the churches who were of the former Council, who met here November 1, 1752, and fully justified them, and censured all who had acted against them, and declared that unless they manifested repentance therefor, they must *mark and avoid them*. Strangers cannot conceive how unaccountable it appeared, for eminent fathers thus to treat their children this year, for acting according to their own solemn charge the year before. It alarmed the Baptists in general, and our elders Sprague, Babcock and Worden, being sent for, met here in Council January 31, 1753; and, in conjunction with many of both denominations that came, they appointed a general meeting of these churches, and sent out citations therefor. In answer to which twenty-seven churches met at Exeter, May 23, and unanimously

unanimously agreed, that a turning to or from infant baptism was not a censurable evil; but that each should leave the other with God, according to Phil. iii. 15. And by their advice a Council met at Middleborough July 11; under whose influence those censures, both of the two and of the five members, were revoked, and fellowship was again declared with this church. But the elders at Canterbury and Plainfield refused to come to the Exeter meeting, or to concur with these subsequent acts. For this Elder Babcock refused to act with Elder Paine in an ordination at Stonington, May 29, 1753, though he did not then give his reasons therefor. And because he afterwards gave them to that church, and they sent to Canterbury to enquire into the matter, a process was commenced against Babcock as a transgressor, for laying in complaints against his brethren to another church than their own. This charge was carried to his church, but not succeeding there, Paine joined with Babcock, in calling a general meeting at Stonington May 29, 1754, to search into these matters, that the churches might come into a gospel settlement. Elders and brethren from forty churches then met, viz. from twenty-four in Connecticut, eight in the Massachusetts, seven in Rhode-Island, and one on Long-Island. After long and tedious debates, the question was put to every member of the conference, whether any just cause of offence was given to the Baptists in the result at Middleborough of November 1, 1752? Thirty-seven said nay; thirty-five said yea, and seven chose to be silent about it. And after hard attempts to cast the blame of the breach upon the Baptists, and manifesting a willingness to commune with Christians who wanted light for infant baptism, Mr. Paine and sundry others declared

ed non-communion with such as professed to have light against it. I now find, that on the back of the paper which called his brother over from Long-Island to this meeting at Stonington, Elisha has stated the question in these words, viz.

VIII. "A HOLDS out his principles. 1. He declares he will administer baptism to none but adult believers. 2. That he will go to any church, and baptize all persons that were baptized in infancy, if they will declare they were dissatisfied with their infant baptism. B holds out his principles, and declares that he will administer baptism to all adult believers and their infant seed, and that he doth it in the name of the Trinity, in obedience of a divine precept. Now the question is, be these two persons agreed in their principles? or will there be any essential difference between their practice, if they practise according to their professed principles? Is it a matter of indifference for a pastor of a church to say, he baptizes an infant in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in the fulfilment of a divine precept? My dear brother, if you can reconcile the above principles, in the essential parts thereof, you will remove all the grounds of bars and disputes: But if there be an essential difference in the above articles, and consequently in the practice on them, then there is an Achan in the camp; and no marvel that Israel hath, in all reformatations, been troubled therewith. Either B sins in making infants the subjects of baptism, or A in cutting them off. Now it is clear to me, that infants were once the subjects to be sealed with the seal of Abraham's faith; therefore, if I allow a person to have Abraham's faith, I must shew that God hath forbid the seal to be put to their seed, or else forbid it in my own name; for

for there is but one covenant of grace, and that had Abraham's seed in it. Now if we allow a person to have Abraham's faith, why not his privilege? I pray God to pinch up our minds, until the troubler be found; for it is not a division between Pedo and Antipedobaptists, but promiscuously runs through the body of Christians, and will rend all cords of union between the dear lambs of God but what are made by human and party bands. Oh! my dear brethren! if God hath cut off infants, by forbidding water to be put on them, let us never tolerate the practice of putting it on; but if not, let none dare to forbid it, but do it in proper office and time."

Thus spake that eminent father of these churches; though the author then knew nothing of it, and never saw him nor his brother after that meeting*. A strong persuasion was still held by many, that if a right temper was in exercise, Christians might and ought to commune together, although of different judgments about baptism. The author and his church laboured earnestly to go on in that way; but when some pious members manifested a belief of duty to be buried in baptism, others refused to go to the water to see it done, because, in their view, they were already baptized, and to repeat it would be taking the sacred name in vain. And when an elder came and sprinkled some infants, the Baptists felt a like difficulty, though they did not leave the meeting where it was done. Being unwilling to part, attempts were made to convince each other, which led into warm debates; to avoid which, at the next meeting, each one was afraid to

* Mr. Solomon Paine died, after a short illness, October 25, 1754; as Mr. Stevens also did November 13, 1755. They were principal leaders among those churches.

to mention the subject, lest it should cause disputes. Thus edification, the great end of Christian society, was marred instead of being promoted, by that which is called large communion. It was so far from answering to that name, that, with their utmost endeavours, the author and his brethren could never arrive at communion in the ordinance of the supper, from September, 1754, to the end of 1755. To be unsettled in religious matters was very disagreeable to the author; but he could not avoid a fresh search into the cause of these difficulties.

THE arguments of the beloved Bunyan, for a free communion with all saints, had before appeared conclusive to him and others; but a review of them discovered his mistakes. One argument is, that plain laws of old were sometimes dispensed with; as circumcision was omitted in the wilderness; David eat of the shew-bread that was not lawful for him, and the people in Hezekiah's time eat of the passover, otherwise than it was written. But it was found upon search, that each of these were extraordinary cases, which were not repeated; and therefore could afford no plea for dispensing with rule at ordinary times. And as to Bunyan's capital argument, which is, *God hath received them*, therefore we ought to; it was observed, that his example is often inimitable by us; but as far as it is imitable, it is always *in the truth*. Hence truth is never to be violated for any one, no, not to save natural life, which all lawful means should be used to preserve. And truth so clearly requires baptism before the supper, that Pedobaptists do never come to the table with any but such as are baptized in their esteem. Neither could we understandingly act in being buried

in baptism, until we were convinced that what was done to us in infancy was not gospel baptism; therefore to commune at the Lord's table with any who were only sprinkled in infancy, is parting with truth, by practically saying they are baptized, when we do not believe they are. I since find that the learned and pious Dr. Watts allows this argument to be just*, though many still wrangle against it.

IX. A NUMBER of brethren being convinced that though freedom towards all men ought to be shown, as far as it can be in the truth, yet that truth limits church communion to believers baptized upon a profession of their own faith, constituted a church at Middleborough, in this way, on January 26, 1756; and, by assistance from Boston and Rehoboth, the author was installed their pastor the 23d of July following. Having in the mean time published a discourse from Gal. iv. 31, to shew that Abraham's first son that was circumcised was the *son of the bond-woman*, an emblem of the national church of the Jews; in distinction from regenerate souls, the *spiritual seed of Abraham*, of whom the Christian church was constituted; into which neither natural birth, nor the doings of others, can rightly bring any one soul, without their own consent. Upon these principles was the first Baptist church in Plymouth county then founded; it being the first of this persuasion, in an extent of country above an hundred miles long, from Bellingham to the end of Cape-Cod, and near fifty miles wide, betwixt Boston and Rehoboth, wherein are now seventeen churches.

MEN who regard carnal ease, or temporal honor and interest, more than truth, cannot be pleased with

* Rational foundation of the Christian church, p. 189, 260.

with the foregoing account of things ; but their scorn or rage is contemptible, when compared with the divine favour or displeasure. Young Christians who highly regard God's favour and fear his frowns, yet are far from being aware of how nearly truth and error may be blended in honest minds ; and nothing can teach them the nature and effects thereof like experience. The Spirit of Truth taught Peter that Jesus was the Christ the Son of the living God : But Peter was greatly mistaken, in concluding from thence that he had inherent strength enough to die for his Saviour. On the day of Pentecost he and others received vastly greater light and strength ; yet how much were they still mistaken in supposing that all who were converted to Christianity must be circumcised ? And though a new vision from heaven taught Peter to go freely to the Gentiles, yet what *dissimulation* was he and Barnabas afterwards insnared in about those matters ! Gal. ii. 11—14. Great care is ever to be taken, not to condemn any thing but what is really evil, nor to expose what is so unnecessarily. If the author has done either in the preceding narrative, he desires to lie open to conviction. It is drawn from a large number of original papers and records, which any who desire it are welcome to see. His experience in these affairs has very sensibly taught him, that mistaken conclusions are often drawn from good premises ; and also, that wrong judgments are the natural effect of erroneous principles. In particular that truth is not to be embraced only because nature fights against it, nor rejected because bad men have professed it, or good men have fought against it. Also that the holding of internal union as the rule of church communion, naturally leads to the censuring of brethren of both denominations,

denominations, if they refuse to act according to that rule, which is making our affection to creatures the standard instead of the revealed will of God. Likewise to censure serious Christians, because of difference in opinion about worship, in the same manner as if they were guilty of a plain breach of moral precept, is doubtless erroneous. In a word, truth is to be received and held for its own sake, and not upon any exterior motives; and it is never to be violated or forsaken for any consideration whatsoever.

C H A P. XII.

1. Divisions among the Learned. 2. Orthodoxy attacked, under the Name of Bigotry and Tyranny.
3. Wallingford Ordination. 4. Remarks thereon. 5. Other Divisions in Connecticut. 6. The like in the Massachusetts. 7. Mayhew and Cleaveland's Controversy.
8. Arminianism exposed.

I. **L**ITTLE do men know of themselves, until they are tried; and as little do they know of the designs of the Most High, when he is trying of them. When Mr. Devenport judged Mr. Noyes to be unconverted, an ample testimony was published in his favour, by President Clap, and others*.

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* Chauncy's thoughts, p. 158—161.

But the same man was judged to be heterodox, by the same President, eight or nine years after; and then himself went to the same Separate meeting that he had censured others for going to. And at a meeting of the Corporation of Yale college, November 21, 1751, it was resolved that no member of the Corporation, nor officer of instruction therein, should hereafter be admitted, until he had given his explicit consent to their ancient forms of orthodoxy, and renounced all opposite principles. And that as this was a known condition of their admission, if any of them should afterwards embrace a contrary system, common honesty would oblige them to own it, and to resign their places. It was likewise resolved, that if any of their members or officers should be suspected of heterodoxy, he should be brought upon examination before said Corporation*. In 1753 an act of their Legislature was procured, to establish a professorship of divinity in the college; which terminated in setting up worship on the Lord's days, and the gathering of a church therein. A great noise, in print and otherwise, was made about these proceedings; which had so much influence about this time, as to cut off an annual grant of an Hundred Pounds from the government to the President, which has not been restored since. Much pains were taken, by him and others, to prove that none but orthodox ministers ought ever to be elected as members of the college Corporation.

II. In the mean time, contentions about bishoprics, among Presbyterian ministers, turned many over to Episcopacy; and very tedious controversies were carried on, about the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and other points connected therewith.

* Clap's history of Yale college, p. 14, 15.

therewith. So much smoke and dust was raised hereby, as opened a pleasing prospect to a number of expelling the ancient plan of orthodoxy, under the name of bigotry and tyranny; which said they “Degrades men from their just rank, into the class of brutes. It damps their spirits. It suppresses arts. It extinguishes every spark of noble ardour and generosity in the breasts of those who are enslaved by it.—There are virtuous and candid men in all sects; all such are to be esteemed: There are also vicious men and *bigots* in all sects; all such ought to be *despised**.” And the writer of this became, for sixteen years, the most popular author in New-England. He got so far in five years, as to insinuate that the doctrine of three eternal persons in the Godhead came from the Pope or a General Council, and that it ought to be treated with contempt. And he asserted, “That the scripture teaches no such doctrine as that of God’s *imputing* the perfect righteousness of Christ to sinners for justification†.” Four senior ministers of Boston joined upon this occasion in publishing a testimony for the essential and eternal deity of our Saviour, and in expressing their grief at what had lately been published against it; but as they did not mention his name, he let it pass with contempt. But his party in Connecticut soon after could not help discovering themselves very plainly.

III. THE Baptist meeting at Wallingford was removed twenty miles, to Southington, four years before Mr. Whittlesey died, in 1756. Yet in two years, among twenty candidates whom they tried, they could not agree in the settlement of a minister in that parish. Therefore on April 26, 1758,

* Preface to Mayhew’s mystery of Charles’s martyrdom, 1750.

† His sermons, 1755, p. 147, 417, 418.

1758, four ministers advised them to send to Cambridge for a candidate; in compliance wherewith a man came, highly recommended, from thence. And in June they gave him a call to settle, with an offer of Two Hundred Pounds settlement, and a salary of Eighty Pounds the first year, Ninety the second, and an Hundred a year ever after, as long as he continued their minister. This call he carried to Cambridge, where he was advised to accept of it; and he returned and published his acceptance thereof, and his ordination was appointed to be on October 11. And now we are to see more of what their Saybrook platform is. Like civil Courts, it does not hinder persons and societies from voluntary agreements among themselves, where there is no opposition; but when contentions break out, it was designed as a known and fixed tribunal, within each circuit, so that no party might have "*Liberty* to choose their own Council where they pleased;" as Dr. Cotton Mather declares, who well understood it*. Yet in this case, though much opposition arose against said candidate, before his ordination was appointed, his party sent for several ministers out of the Massachusetts, for one out of the county of Hartford, as well as for such as suited them in their own county, to be the ordaining Council§. Before their call was given, a Justice of the Peace, who was a father in that church, went to talk with their candidate about his doctrine; but was answered in a short and angry manner; and the candidate said, "He was too young to be examined; and if there were any objections against what he had delivered in preaching, he would answer them before the ordaining Council." To this testimony the Justice has

* *Ratio Diciplinæ*, p. 183.

§ Todd, p. 11.

has signed his name. Two others of the society also certify, that they waited upon him some time before his settlement and salary were voted, to obtain satisfaction about his principles; "And particularly desired him to let them know his sentiments with regard to original sin, and the saints perseverance; the power of free-will, and falling from grace;" but he refused to tell them†. Therefore the Consociation was convened at Wallingford, the day before the time appointed for his ordination, to hear and act upon a complaint exhibited against said candidate; but he and his party protested against their meeting at that time, and refused to be tried by them. And a minister from Hingham, in the Massachusetts, and six more of those who were sent for, formed themselves into a Council, and went into their meeting-house, and heard the candidate for ordination vindicate himself, before judges that his accusers refused to be tried by. Though while they were there, they received a paper, signed by ninety-five inhabitants of that parish, who were in possession of about half the freehold estate therein, desiring them not to proceed in the ordination. With this paper came a message from their Consociation, warning and beseeching them not then to proceed: Yet in the face of all this, those ministers went on and ordained said candidate, as the pastor of that parish. Such an instance was never before known in this land; therefore their Consociation adjourned, and called in the southern Consociation of Hartford county to act with them in the affair. But all their united efforts could not bring said party to submit to a trial before them; therefore, at their meeting of April 3, 1759, the sentence of non-communication

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† Eells, p. 9, 10.

was passed against the minister so ordained in the first society in Wallingford, and against the members who should continue with him. And the ministers of that county who acted in that ordination were declared to be *disorderly persons*, unworthy to sit in any of their Councils, until they gave satisfaction for that offence; and these were Joseph Noyes, Isaac Stiles, and Chauncy Whittlesey of New-Haven, Samuel Whittlesey of Milford, Theophilus Hall of Meriden, and Jonathan Todd of East-Guilford*. The last of these, with Mr. William Hart of Saybrook (who collected many stories against the New-Lights†) wrote in favour of that ordination; and Mr. Edward Eells and Mr. Noah Hobart wrote against it. Two of these *disorderly* ministers were sons to the former minister of Wallingford, and the second of them was the tutor for whose sake David Brainard was expelled the college: And his father was Moderator of the Confociation that deposed Mr. Timothy Allen from his pastoral office, at a meeting which was not called for that end‡. Mr. Robbins was now one of their judges, in an affair which affords many useful lessons.

IV. HERE we may see how SELF can blind the children of men. The scene of these actions was in the same town, from whence all their actings against him originated. He only preached there occasionally; they settled a minister in the parish. He acted against the request of two ministers, and forty-two inhabitants; they against the Confociation of the county, and ninety-five inhabitants. In the first case the Saybrook platform was fairly renounced, and the oracles of God received in its

* Eells, p. 32—48.

† Chauncy's thoughts, p. 183—195. ‡ Ibid. p. 215.

its stead; in the other, those ministers only protested against the meeting upon it, at that time*; but intended to act upon it themselves afterwards, when a "Smart young gentleman from Cambridge" should have effected an agreeable change among them†. Robbins's plea for liberty of conscience was rejected, and his confessions also; because, say they, "The Council at Guilford did not sit to make a number of *new laws*, by virtue of some legislative power in themselves, but sat to enquire what were the laws of Christ. He omits to tell the world, that the Association enquired of him, whether, in his third confession, he acknowledged the transgression of any law of God, in any respect, and that he declared to them *he did not*. Would any one expect, that the Association would sit to hear one *flam* after another§!" But now what terrible invasions are made upon *their* rights and liberties! First it is said, "The complainants were their own members, and have no right by the constitution to call a Consociation to sit in judgment upon them, and exercise jurisdiction over them. They are a Congregational church, having power of church discipline within themselves; and the constitution secures them in the peaceable enjoyment of the Congregational privileges, and did not subject them to the prosecution of their own members." And says their advocate, "It always appeared to me a thing not only *unprecedented* and *unconstitutional*, but *cruel*¶, to advise the Moderator to call the Consociation upon a complaint against the church, without letting

* Todd, p. 25. † Todd, p. 4. Eells, p. 10.

§ Their answer to Robbins, p. 8, 9.

¶ How cruel then were they, in all their proceedings, against the minister of Branford!

ting the church know that any complaint was exhibited against them, or giving them opportunity to shew, if they were able, that there was no occasion therefor." And he insinuates that the love of money had some influence in raising opposition against that ordination||. At the same time Mr. Hart (his second in this affair) has recourse to the laws of England, about the *induction* of ministers into profitable livings, to vindicate their ordination of said teacher at Wallingford; which word *induction* had been made use of by Episcopalians, in the Colony of New-York, to rob Presbyterians of their rights*; because it was said in the Confociation, "The constitution is in danger of being overfet, but it is better that the *Arminians* do it than we;" they said, "It certainly must be a very wicked thing, to dub men heretics, brand them with ill names, and ascribe to them principles that they disclaim, only to compass some particular designs†." But one of their most knowing and candid ministers assures us, that he never heard any of them so spoken of since, who had not the same character before†. And it is certain, that all their proceedings against Mr. Robbins were upon the complaints of a small party, contrary to the minds of a large majority, both of his church and congregation. And those attempts were to root out a minister who was well settled; these were to settle one who had preached in the place but a few weeks before he received his call, when the opposition openly appeared. From all which we learn, that what they call free-will power, is a power to conform to or dispense with rule, divine or human, as they judge best, and to plead liberty

|| Todd, p. 9, 14, 26.

* Hobart, p. 31.

† Todd, p. 72.

† Hobart, p. 36.

liberty of conscience for so doing. Yea, a liberty to brand dissenters from their judgments with as many ill names as they please, but to deny that liberty to others concerning themselves. From hence we also learn, that their Confociation power over the churches, instead of preventing, *causeth divisions and offences*, contrary to the doctrine of Christ. It now caused a division in Wallingford, and those who adhered to the ancient faith of their churches were forced to draw off, and form another church, and settle another minister; and the secular arm, from whence their Confociation power was derived and is supported, upholds said minister in that place, and has called him to preach an election sermon at Hartford, whose name and title now is James Dana, D. D.

V. THESE remarks are greatly confirmed by succeeding events. Sandeman's letters on Theron and Aspasio came out in 1758, which give those teachers a most severe lashing who point their hearers to something good in themselves, for encouragement, instead of Christ's finished atonement. Mr. Ebenezer White, of Danbury, readily adopted these sentiments, and most of his hearers also; but a minor part of them were so much displeased therewith, as to enter a complaint against him to the eastern Association of Fairfield county. Upon hearing of which, he and a large majority of his church met June 28, 1763, and renounced the Saybrook platform; though they did not withdraw their fellowship from the churches that were under it. In August the Confociation in that circuit met at Danbury, and viewing the case to be difficult, they adjourned, and called in the western Confociation of that county, to act with them. After much labour, at their meeting of

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March 27, 1764, they rejected Mr. White and the majority of his church, as men who had separated from their constitution; and owned the minority who adhered to it as the first church and society in Danbury, declaring that they were released from all obligations to Mr. White as their minister, and that the Confociation could not recommend him as such to any other people, until he gave them satisfaction. But this last clause was protested against as unreasonably severe, by five ministers of their number*. Mr. Izrahiah Wetmore was one of them, who in an election sermon at Hartford nine years after gave an explicit testimony against any attempts to establish the church of Christ by human laws. Another of them was Mr. David Judson, of Newtown, who in 1770 renounced the Saybrook scheme, as his church also did in 1773; and several meetings of the Confociation were called upon it, and pamphlets were published against them by Mr. Judson, and for them by Mr. Robert Rofs†.

VI. If we again turn our eyes to Boston, the same temper presents itself to view. The Separate society, that began there in 1742, growing small, dismissed their minister, and dissolved their society; and a parish upon Casco-Bay called and settled him
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* White's narrative, p. 22, 23.

† In 1762 Mr. Rofs published a laboured piece at New-Haven, against the Baptists and others, who had separated from his party; wherein he advanced facts and arguments to prove them to be deluded enthusiasts. One of his plainest facts is, that a few foolish people at Wrentham, an hundred and sixty miles from him, once ventured to appoint a time to ordain a minister over them, who had not consented thereto; and they were confounded in it. His plainest argument, to prove that the Baptists and others are a deluded people, is in these words, viz. "If you had not embraced some errors about experimental religion, why do you separate FROM US!" *Rofs's address*, p. 45, 105.

as their pastor. This displeased a few of the inhabitants so much, that they brought their complaints to Boston, in 1760; and were not only set off themselves to another parish, but procured a general law of the Province to prohibit the settling of any minister for the future, in their way, who had not an academical degree, or an approbation from the majority of the settled ministers of the county where the parish lies. At the same time their Grand Jury, in their several County Courts, were charged by the Judges from year to year to enter complaints upon oath against every parish that neglected to settle and support an orthodox minister. But about this time an Episcopal church was erected near the college in Cambridge, whose minister, at the opening of it, exclaimed most bitterly against the fathers of New-England, and their doctrines, and published some high commendations of the Episcopal way. This moved the popular author before named, at Boston, to appear against that party. And having quoted the 9th, 11th, 13th and 17th articles of the church of England, which speak of original sin, justification by faith in Christ's imputed righteousness, works done before justification, and of predestination and election, he says, "To speak sincerely, I own it is my *private* opinion, that it has been too common a thing for people in New-England to express themselves in a manner *justly exceptionable* upon these points, however agreeably both to the *letter and spirit* of the articles aforesaid; but yet, I believe, not more exceptionably than many eminent divines of the church of England did in the last century*." This last remark is undoubtedly just; but can any say so of what follows?

VII. THE

* Mayhew's observations upon the Episcopal society, 1763, p. 91, 92.

VII. THE eldest of the two brothers who were expelled out of Yale college published an essay at Boston, to prove that two of this author's sermons were erroneous, about the person and atonement of Christ. Directly upon which it was declared in some of the Boston papers, "That it was as much out of character for a gentleman of the Doctor's reputation to enter into a controversy with Mr. Cleaveland, as it would for a general of an army to accept of a challenge from a subaltern." To which was soon added, *A letter of reproof to Mr. John Cleaveland, of Ipswich, by Jonathan Mayhew, D.D.* Therein the author of the essay was considered "As a person unworthy to be *reasoned* with." Saying, "It was my determination from the first, not to enter into a dispute with such a *wrong-headed and worse-hearted wretch*!——Had I not a right to speak my sentiments upon these points? If you disliked them, could you not content yourself with preaching your own? Or, if you must needs publish them, would it not have been more *decent* and *expedient* for you to do it, without engaging in a personal controversy *with me*? Would not any end you could propose to yourself have been answered as well, though you had never mentioned *my name**?" Upon which it was observed, that the eternal JEHOVAH says to wrong-headed and worse-hearted sinners, *come now and let us reason together*; which this great pretender to virtue and liberty was unwilling to do with a fellow-minister! but would have it esteemed an *indecent* as well as an *inexpedient* attempt, for such as did not stand in so high a class as himself to expose his inconsistencies and errors†. A sight of these things moved President Clap, and the Corporation of Yale college,

* Letter of reproof, p. 4, 20, 39.

† Cleaveland's reply, 1765, p. 3, 14.

college, to send to Mr. Cleaveland a degree of master of arts, in 1764, as they afterwards did to his brother. Yet when Mayhew died June 9, 1766, Chauncy gave him a high character, in a funeral sermon, and reflected upon his answerer, calling him "An obscure person, without reputation;" but he could not at the same time conceal his own corruption.

VIII. For Robert Sandeman, whose writings had made a great stir in this country, came over from Scotland, and landed at Boston in October, 1764, and gathered a church in Boston, another in Providence, and a third in Danbury. Therefore, to guard against his influence, Chauncy published a volume of sermons in 1765, wherein he gives his ideas concerning fundamental points in the following words. Says he, "The original promise of life was not suspended upon *perfect obedience* to what is commonly called *the natural or moral law of God*. In contradiction hereto, I know it is said, by *most* Christian writers, that the first man was so placed under this law, that he must work his way to life by *perfectly* doing all things commanded by it; inso-much that he could not have obtained it but by a persevering obedience in every point of duty, without the least failure. But this is said entirely without book. The scripture nowhere insinuates, that he was under *such a covenant of works*. It suggests, on the contrary, that God, in favour to him, did not put him upon so *severe* a trial for life. His trial, if we may believe the sacred record of it, was in a *single instance*, and this not of doing, but of forbearing to do.—That which was made the test of Adam's subjection to God, was a command not of the moral but positive kind; a command, not deducible from reason, but known only by revelation.—It would

would be the exact truth, should I say, that the first parents of men, while innocent, in common with their posterity since the elapse, could have obtained life in no way but that *of grace through faith*." And after a laboured criticism upon Rom. v. 12, he says, "The judicial sentence of God, occasioned by the offence of one man, is that which fastens *death*, with all its natural causes and appendages, upon the human kind; and 'tis IN CONSEQUENCE of this sentence, UPON mens coming into existence under the disadvantages arising from it, that they *sin* themselves*." This is his account, accented in this manner. From whence we may see, that his principles were contrary to most Christian writers about original righteousness, original sin, the nature of grace, and the justice of God in his government of the world. For the moral law is to love God with all our powers, and to love our neighbours as ourselves; which can never be called *severe*, without implicitly denying his infinite excellency and righteousness. And though the precept concerning the forbidden fruit could only be known by pure revelation, yet by violating of it man revolted from heaven, and seized upon the earth as his own; and we are all born in that state of revolt, which is original sin. And grace and works are as distinct as *wages* and *gifts*, Rom. vi. 23, xi. 6. Wages cannot be justly claimed but upon doing the work; while the most proper subjects of gifts are such as are sensibly guilty and helpless. Neither can the justice of God, in sending death upon infants, be clearly vindicated in any other way, than by viewing them as sinners in our first public head. And to deny God's right to constitute him as such, implicitly

* Chauncy's twelve sermons, p. 18—20, 23.

PLICITLY militates against his justifying souls by the imputed righteousness of the second Adam.

C H A P. XIII.

1. Dark and trying Times. 2. But Light broke forth in various Places.
3. A Door opened for the Removal of ancient Prejudices. 4. Writings to prevent it. 5. And cruel Oppression. 6. To which very mean Practices were added. 7. Gross Inconsistencies discovered.

I. **D**IVISIONS and perverse disputings, in all parts of the land, brought the churches into terrible circumstances; and each party were ready to cast the blame of it upon others. And a national war began in 1755, which ever tends to corrupt the morals, as well as to destroy the property and lives of men. Its influence was very extensive; and it issued in February, 1763, in the cession of the whole continent of America North of the Mississippi to the Crown of Great-Britain; a vast territory indeed. Many rejoiced greatly upon this occasion, imagining that our wars, which for near a century had been frequent and very distressing, were now come to an end. But, alas! to the whole British empire, these were but the beginning of sorrows. Upon the conquest of Quebec, Governor Wentworth, of New-Hampshire, appointed a public thanksgiving upon Saturday, Nov. 10, 1759,

1759, because it was the birth-day of an aged and good King; and he said in his proclamation, "The ministers of the gospel are hereby directed to perform divine service, in their respective congregations, in the morning only, the afternoon being devoted to public *rejoicings*, and lawful *diversions*." But when the day came, instead of rejoicings, the Governor had to mourn over the dead corps of his only son*. And on October 25, 1760, that aged and good King was taken from the nation. When the news of it arrived, the pastor of the second Baptist church in Boston preached from those words of Solomon, *Wo to thee, O land, when thy King is a child*; which is a truth that others have had occasion to remember since. And because the great reformation, in and after the year 1740, was begun and mainly carried on among Pedobaptists, many had asserted that the Baptist principles always came in at the tail of a reformation, when the life of religion was gone, and people were for settling down upon the bare letter of scripture. For a dozen years, this argument was much harped upon, until it was silenced in these parts by clear evidence to the contrary.

II. THE second Baptist church in Middleborough ordained their pastor on January 26, 1758. And our third church in the town was formed and organized in 1761. And though we have three meeting-houses of our denomination in this town, yet the nearest are nine miles apart, and the farthest above eleven. On April 1, 1761, Mr. William Carpenter, and his church at Norton, were established in the Baptist order, and he enjoyed a considerable blessing upon his labours both there and in

* Langdon's sermon on said day, p. 45, 46.

in Attleborough, and some revivings were granted in several other parts of the land. But a much greater work came on in June, 1762, in the third Baptist church in Middleborough, and prevailed through the year, and extended its blessings into other societies and denominations. The subjects of this work discovered much more of fruitfulness in their understandings, and good government of their passions, than appeared in the revival twenty years before. And it was very evident, that the labours of Baptist ministers were the chief means of beginning and carrying on this work; which was powerful, undoubtedly, to the saving benefit of many souls. And though the world said, they spent so much time in religious exercises, that they would all starve, or come to want and misery; yet the contrary was remarkably demonstrated, by the dispensations of Providence: For in many places almost the whole staff of bread was cut off, by a severe drought; while a few seasonable showers, in the parts where people were so much engaged in religion, caused not only a good supply for themselves, but also a large quantity to impart to others the next spring. This was very convincing to many. Divine influences upon the souls of men were more extensively granted afterwards. Near the close of 1763, such a work began under Mr. Cleaveland's ministry in Ipswich, as caused the addition of ninety communicants to his church, in less than a year. A like blessing was granted in Providence and in Norwich, and a greater one on the east end of Long-Island, of which Mr. Buell published a narrative. The work extended to New-York, New-Jersey, and elsewhere. The beginning and progress of a revival at Woodstock was also very remarkable. As Mr. Noah

Alden passed through the town in December, 1763, he preached a sermon to a few people, one of whom had been a chief leader in mirth and frolicking, among young people there: But God was pleased to direct an arrow of conviction to his heart, which ended in conversion in March, 1764. No sooner did this news come abroad, than four of his former companions went one evening to try if they could not draw him back to his former ways again. He willingly retired with them to an adjacent school-house, where they spent the evening together. But, instead of turning him back to vanity, he prevailed with them to appoint a religious meeting the next week, which led on to others of that kind, until a large harvest of souls was granted there. And who could help rejoicing, to see a large number of young people turned from lying vanities, to an earnest engagement in religion, and the great affairs of the soul and eternity! Yet the minister and professors with whom they met for worship, finding that a cold formality could not give them satisfaction, appointed a fast, and called in the neighbouring ministers to assist therein; who fell to exclaiming against false teachers, Satan's turning himself into an angel of light, separations, Anabaptism, &c. which plainly taught those young believers, that edification, the great end of Christian society, was not to be enjoyed in that way. And being convinced of the truth of believers baptism, a church was constituted in that order in February, 1766; and on May 29, 1768, the man who had been their chief leader from vanity to real religion was ordained their pastor; under whose ministrations great blessings have been granted since. And such a door is now opening for the removal of ancient prejudices, as had not been before in many ages.

III. THE covenant of circumcision gave those who were born in it a right to treat all others, both as to worship and commerce, as no others had any right to treat them. A right to office also in that church was hereditary. When our Saviour came, he fulfilled the law both moral and ceremonial, and abolished those hereditary distinctions among mankind. But in the centuries following, deceitful philosophy took away the name which God has given to that covenant (Acts vii. 8) and added the name *grace* to it; from whence came the doctrine, that *dominion is founded in grace*. And although this latter name has been exploded by many, yet the root of it has been tenaciously held fast and taught in all colleges and superior places of learning, as far as Christianity has extended, until the present time; whereby natural affection, education, temporal interest, and self righteousness, the strongest prejudices in the world, have all conspired to bind people in that way, and to bar their minds against equal liberty and believers baptism. But the writings of our learned ministers in England have communicated much light in this country; to which more was added by the travels and labours of our southern fathers and brethren. And hereby the Philadelphia Association* obtained such an acquaintance with our affairs, as to bring them to an apprehension that it was practicable and expedient to erect a college in the Colony of Rhode-Island, under the chief direction of the Baptists; wherein education might be promoted, and superior learning obtained, free of any sectarian religious tests. And Mr. James Manning, who took his first degree in New-Jersey college in September,

1762,

* A yearly meeting of the Baptist churches in those parts, which began in 1707.

1762, was esteemed a suitable leader in this important work. Therefore on a voyage to Halifax, in July, 1763, he called in at Newport, and proposed the affair to the Honorable Samuel Ward, John Gardner, Josias Lyndon, and other Baptist gentlemen and friends; who readily concurred therewith, and entered upon the use of means to accomplish it. And notwithstanding secret contrivances and some open attempts against it, an ample charter for the purpose was granted by their Legislature, in February, 1764. In the summer following Mr. Manning removed to Warren, to preach to a society newly formed there, and to begin the school. In September, 1765, he was chosen President of the college, and on September 7, 1769, seven young gentlemen took their first degrees therein, and it was removed to Providence the next spring, where a further account of it may be given hereafter. Mr. Hezekiah Smith, a class-mate with Mr. Manning, having travelled and laboured in the gospel as far southward as Georgia, returned and came into New-England in the spring of 1764, and was received to preach in the pulpits of Pedobaptists, in Providence, Rehoboth, Attleborough, Ipswich, Newbury and other places, with an evident blessing upon his labours. He expected to have returned to New-Jersey in the fall; but a vacant parish in Haverhill prevailed with him to alter his purpose, so as to stay and preach with them. Hereupon some ministers, who had freely received him as an itinerant minister, turned and exerted all their influence against him. Yet many seals were granted to his ministry, and a Baptist church was formed in Haverhill, on May 9, 1765, and he became their pastor, before which there was but one small Baptist church in any part of our country northward of Boston.

Boston. Their increase also elsewhere made others very uneasy.

IV. DR. Benjamin Lord published a discourse in 1763, wherein he says, "Some few, I perceive, begin to hearken to corrupt doctrines, which tend to their renouncing of their infant baptism, and their interest in the very ancient covenant with Abraham and his seed; which you may be assured is a dangerous road, and often issueth very fatally, —witness the Anabaptists in Germany, 240 years ago, and others since*." Directly upon which, he, with six other ministers, made some additions to Dickinson's dialogue, and got it re-printed at Providence. In a preface to it, they say, "It seems people do not think in season what a sinful, God-provoking and soul-destroying evil it is, to break over God's institutions: First be wavering, unsettled, not stedfast in any right principles, nor in the covenant in which their infant baptism declares them to be; and then break covenant, and separate themselves, as being in their own esteem holier and better than others. It is hid from them, that evil men and seducers wax worse and worse: It is hid from them, or rather they will not see, that they have fell into the way of Cain, and are in danger of perishing in the gainfaying of Core." A sight of which, from the minister where the author was born, and from whom he separated, moved him to send the Doctor a printed letter in 1764, to open the injustice and abusive nature of such treatment of mankind; to which he returned no answer, but has since been more friendly to the Baptists than before. As Dr. Gill had answered said dialogue, a copy of this new edition was sent to him. An addition

* Discourse on sober madness, p. 16, 17.

dition to it was made in these words, viz. say they, "St. Irenæus, who lived about 114 years after the death of Christ, being the disciple of St. Polycarp, who was the disciple of St. John the Evangelist, says, in his epistle, *ad. Rom. lib. 5, The church received a tradition from the apostles, to administer baptism to little children, or infants. By tradition* (say these ministers) the ancients meant the word of God, agreeable to that of the apostle, 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6*." Upon a sight of this Dr. Gill published an advertisement, in the end of the London edition of his reply to Clark, wherein he charges this passage as a *forgery*, and challenges the whole literary world to produce or point out any such passage in the writings of Irenæus, if they can; and said, "What a wretched cause must infant baptism be, to require such management as this!" Various methods have been taken to wipe off this reproach, if possible. The first I heard of was, that those ministers sent to Yale college, and there found a Latin translation of Irenæus, which had that passage in it. I was afterwards told, by one of their most learned ministers, that the controversy turned upon men's different opinions about the meaning of a Greek word or two; which therefore could not properly be called a *forgery*. But in 1781 Mr. Moses Hemmingway, of Wells, published a piece upon infant baptism, wherein he would persuade us, that it was only a slip of memory in those ministers to write Irenæus, when Origen was the person intended; and therefore that Dr. Gill discovered a very bad temper, in making such a noise about so harmless a mistake. To which I reply, that those ministers name Origen in their next paragraph,

* Said dialogue, p. 5.

graph, and say he lived about 190 years after Christ. And how came a minister 180 miles from them to know that they meant Origen, in the disputed passage, when it does not appear that they ever knew it themselves! However, the use of the secular arm has ever been their worst argument.

V. WHEN the Legislature at Boston broke in upon their own exempting law, in 1752, the Baptists were so much alarmed as to call several meetings, and to elect Mr. John Proctor their agent, to carry their case to England; and they subscribed above an Hundred Pounds therefor; and he drew a remonstrance upon the subject, which was presented to the Assembly at Boston, in May, 1754. It stated matters so plainly, that a motion was made by some to take the signers of it into custody; but Governor Shirley, newly returned from Europe, convinced them of the impolicy of such a step; and then they appointed a committee to confer in a friendly way with the Baptists; and matters were shifted along, until the war came on, and their design for England was dropt. At length all their exempting laws for Baptists and Quakers expired, and the Assembly of November 23, 1757, made a new one, wherein both denominations were again included in one act. By it no Baptists were to be exempted from ministerial taxes, in the places where they lived, "But such whose names shall be contained in a list or lists, to be taken and exhibited on or before the 20th of July annually, to the assessors of such town, district, precinct or parish, and signed by three principal members of the Anabaptist church to which he or they belong, and the minister thereof, if any there be, who shall therein certify, that the persons whose names are inserted in the said list or lists are really belonging

belonging thereto; that they verily believe them to be conscientiously of their persuasion, and that they frequently and usually attend public worship in said church on the Lord's days:" And the like was required of the Quakers. It was continued in force 13 years; and no tongue nor pen can fully describe all the evils that were practised under it. Only because a difficulty arose, in 1763, between the third Baptist church in Middleborough and their minister, so as prevent his signing a new certificate for them, they were all taxed to the parish worship. And though, after distress was made upon some, they were advised to apply to Plymouth Court for help; yet, instead of affording any, they took Twenty Dollars more from them. And this was but a trifle, compared with what was done at Haverhill. For on May 23, 1765, a paper was given to their parish assessors, which said, "This may inform you, that we who have formed ourselves into a Baptist church, according to the laws of this government respecting Baptists, called by some Anabaptists, do hereby certify, that we verily believe that Major Edmond Moors, and Mr. John White, merchant, are conscientiously of our persuasion, and that they do frequently and usually attend public worship with us on the Lord's days." Signed by the minister and three principal members. Yet after this was given, the first parish in said town met, and voted a large sum of money to build them a new meeting-house; and taxed the Baptists with the rest, to pay both that and the parish minister's salary. And on September 15, 1766, they seized a large quantity of Mr. White's goods for that tax. For this he sued the Assessors, at their County Court in December; but the action was continued till March, and then

then was carried up to their Superior Court by way of demur. It was to have been tried at Ipswich, in June, 1767; but it was then put off, because two Baptist gentlemen, a Major and a Captain, were not allowed to be witnesses of plain facts, concerning the seizure of said goods; neither could a few hours be obtained, though requested, to fetch other witnesses from Haverhill. Their adversaries then moved for an agreement, to have the case tried the next term, and that the same should be a final trial. This was concurred with, and the agreement was entered by the clerk of the Court. The next term was at Salem, in November, when, after a fair and full hearing, the jury found for the Baptists Thirty Pounds damages and costs. This was immediately complained of as excessive high; therefore, rather than not have the matter settled, Mr. White consented to remit Twelve Pounds of it; and the Court gave judgment to have the rest paid. Yet the lawyers prevailed to have it referred to a future Court, whether they should not have another trial. And finally, in June, 1769, another trial was brought on, and the case was turned against the Baptists; which in all cost them about Eighty Pounds. The reason given for violating an agreement in Court, about a final trial, was that it was a matter of great consequence. And the plea which finally prevailed was built upon the ambiguous clause, belonging thereto, in their certificate law. It might mean a baptized church member, or only a steady worshipper therewith. The Court owned that the latter was the intent of the law; yet, because those words were not in their certificate, though that meaning was full in it, the case was turned against the Baptists. And the reason given against admitting any of them as witness of plain

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facts, was because they were parties concerned; that is, because the Congregationalists are the majority, they may violate their promises to the minority, in matters of great importance; and may construe words as they please, and refuse to allow the minority to be so much as witnesses of plain facts, because, forsooth, the majority are not parties concerned!

VI. THE noise about this case reached as far as Philadelphia, and enquiry was made from thence, what it meant? We were told that a noted minister, in New-England, wrote for answer, that where the Baptists could get the power, they were as bad oppressors as those they complained so much of; which story was framed from the following actions. On September 11, 1765, a Baptist minister was ordained in South-Brimfield, whose preaching was agreeable to some Pedobaptists near him, who disliked a minister then ordained in the east part of that district, of their denomination. They therefore got some of the Baptists to join with them in a petition for a new parish there. Upon which the Assembly at Boston, January 15, 1766, incorporated the west part of said district into a new parish, invested with all the powers and privileges, and subjected to all the duties of other parishes, without any mention of the Baptists in the whole act. Hereupon the majority of this parish made a tax for the Baptist minister, the most of whose church lived without those bounds; and some within never concurred therewith. When the year came round, those Pedobaptists moved to have the Baptist meeting-house voted to be the parish meeting-house; and because they would not thus give away a valuable house, built for a Baptist church, and chiefly by men who did not live in
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that parish, the first movers in said taxing scheme refused to pay their own tax. A gentleman from Boston was then their collector; and, seeing the matter must be tried, he told me that he resolved to act impartially; and therefore made distress upon one Baptist, who had ever opposed that scheme, and upon one of the other party. The case was then carried to Springfield Court, where it was soon turned against the Baptist minister; and why? he had studied both Greek and Latin, but he had neither an academical degree, nor an approbation from the majority of the ministers in that county, which was their legal test of orthodoxy. He continued the beloved pastor of that church, until he finished his course with joy, August 5, 1769; after which that church sent a confession abroad, among their brethren, of their fault in not opposing said taxing scheme as they ought to have done, a copy whereof is before me. How mean then was the pretence, that the Baptists hereby discovered as bad an inclination as their opponents did! And as great meanness was discovered at Haverhill. The want of learned ministers had often been cast as a reproach upon the Baptist churches; but when such an one was obtained there, all manner of evil reports concerning him could not suffice, without many instances of personal abuse. A beetle was cast at him as he was walking the street one evening, which he took up and carried to his lodgings. Also a stone, large enough to kill him, was cast through a window near his head, where he was in bed. And his enemies went so far as to cut off his horse's mane and tail in the night, and to set up a paper upon the door where he quartered, threatening worse treatment to him if he did not depart; and as he went to preach at Solomon Kimbell's,

bell's, in Bradford, Amos Milliken, a Sheriff, came at the head of a mob to prevent it. And as Mr. Smith was going to begin the worship of God, the chair he stood behind was snatched away; and the man of the house tried in vain to quell the tumult, and to command peace in his own house. At length Mr. Smith, with undaunted resolution, engaged in his public work, and the rioters withdrew, and gave no further disturbance to the exercise. And though some of them laid wait for him in the evening, yet it was so ordered that he did not return home, until the coldness of the air forced them to quit their cruel design. After Mr. Kimbell's decease, his widow, who also was of the Baptist society in Haverhill, and had the same certified to Bradford assessors, yet was taxed to their parish worship. And late in a winter evening she was seized for it, and carried some miles; and then, calling at an inn, she was prevailed upon to pay the tax; after which she was left to return home, in the dead of the night, through frost and snow, to her three small fatherless children. Also the widow Mary Corlis, of Haverhill, a member of the Baptist church there, had one of her cattle taken away for a ministerial tax. "Thus, says she, I was oppressed, in a Province where there is an universal cry for LIBERTY! the cry of the widow and fatherless they regard not!" So far from it, that further attempts were now made to inflame the resentment of the ruling party against all dissenters from their worship.

VII. A BOOK was published in 1767, and dispersed through New-England, wherein it was said of the Baptist churches in general, "They little think, as I charitably believe, how far they join with the *gates of hell*, in opposing the church of Christ,

Christ, by laying waste the nursery, out of which his vineyard is supplied*." As if natural growth could fit children for Christian communion; or, that a requiring fruits meet for repentance, in order for admission thereto, were a destroying of them. In the same book were many odious reports concerning the separations in and after 1744, several of which were not true in fact; and having introduced a plea in favour of those people, that they are not such now, the writer says, "It is readily granted, that they are now much more moderate and civil than they were in that day, are very peaceable, kind, obliging, good neighbours.—But what does this reasoning argue? Why it only shows that they have lost a degree of their own *original spirit, as Separates*†." And yet he began his preface with saying, "The special occasion of the following discourses was, the *revival of the spirit* and principles of Separation and Anabaptism." According therefore to his own testimony, they were peaceable, kind, obliging, good neighbours, after that spirit was revived. Neither were his party any more consistent with themselves in a following publication. For upon the British claims of taxing America, an evident design was forming to establish Episcopacy therein; to guard against which, it was said in 1768, "We are, in principle, against all civil establishments in religion.—It does not appear to us, that God has entrusted the State with a right to make religious establishments. If the State in England has this delegated authority, must it not be owned, that the State in China, in Turkey, in Spain, has this authority also?—And as they must severally be supposed to exert this authority in establishments conform-

* Fish's nine sermons, p. 95.

† Ibid. p. 158.

conformable to their own sentiments in religion, what can the consequence be but infinite damage to the cause of God and true religion? And such in fact has been the consequence of these establishments IN ALL AGES, AND ALL PLACES*.”

And this publication appeared of such importance, to the annual Association of ministers from all parts of Connecticut, in June, 1768, that they published a letter of thanks to Dr. Chauncy therefor, in a Boston news-paper. Yet, for these forty years, he has wrote the most to uphold their religious establishments in New-England, of any man upon earth. And a still greater demonstration of the pernicious effects thereof is before us.

C H A P. XIV.

1. Ashfield planted. 2. Lawful Rights denied to the Baptists therein. 3. To which new Acts were added. 4. And slanderous Publications. 5. Likewise a spiteful Prosecution. 6. Relief from England. 7. Remarks thereon. 8. Oppression at Montague. 9. And at Berwick.

I. **A** GRANT was made in 1735, to Ebenezer Hunt and others, of a township six miles square, westward of Deerfield. A plan of it was

* Chauncy against Chandler, p. 152, 153.

was to be drawn in sixty-three equal shares; one of which was to be for their first minister, one for the ministry, and one for the school; and certain improvements were to be made upon each of the other shares, within three years after the confirmation of the plan. They were also to settle a learned orthodox minister, and to build and finish a convenient meeting-house for public worship. By reason of succeeding wars, the planting of that place was delayed until 1751. In the mean time a complaint was entered to the church in South-Hadly, that one of their members had propagated a reproachful lie concerning Chileab Smith, a father therein. But the complaint was disregarded, which moved him to enquire into the constitution of the church; and, to his surprize, though the words of their covenant implied a profession of saving faith, yet he found that such a profession was not held to be necessary in order for their communion. He then laboured to convince the church that this was a dangerous error; and, being invited, he went to a meeting of ministers at Hatfield, August 6, 1750, and laid before them many scriptural reasons against it. But they gave him no satisfaction, only referred him to Mr. Edwards, who was dismissed from Northampton two months before, for rejecting that principle. Edwards approved of Smith's reasons against it, but not of a separation therefor. But as Smith judged otherwise, he openly withdrew from said church; and in 1751 he removed to Hunts-town, with eight children, when there were but two or three families therein. Others came in soon after, and lived without public worship for some time; and then eternal concerns were so clearly opened to his mind, that he called the inhabitants together, and prayed with, and expounded the scriptures

tures to them, to such good purpose that his children and many others were hopefully converted. In November, 1753, his eldest son was called to preach the gospel; and, with great hazard and expence, they kept their station, and maintained public worship, through a bloody Indian war of seven years continuance; near the close whereof they were led into believers baptism, and became an organized church on August 20, 1761; by assistance from Killingly, Sturbridge, and Stafford; and by the close of that year the church increased to twenty-four members, half of whom were males.

II. In 1762, a State tax was imposed upon that plantation; and as the law exempts all settled ministers therefrom, two of their assessors allowed their minister that privilege. But, for this, the other assessor entered a complaint against them to Springfield Court. The Baptists desired time to prove that their minister was regularly ordained; but the Court refused it, or to allow of any appeal from their judgment; and extorted a large fine and costs from them, for not taxing their minister contrary to law. When he was ordained, there were but five families, out of nineteen in the place, against him; but, the danger of the war being over, others moved in, and in February, 1763, they ordained Mr. Jacob Sherwin over that party; and not only gave him all the privileges of the first minister of the town, but also an Hundred Pounds settlement and Sixty-four Pounds a year salary, to which they added a large sum to build them a meeting-house, and taxed the Baptist minister and his people with others to pay it. The plantation being only a proprietyship, it was said the exempting law for Baptists did not extend there; and when it was incorporated in 1765, by the name of
Ashfield,

Ashfield, the word *support* was artfully inserted; which had no place in their original grant, nor in the incorporating acts of the towns of Charlemont and Lanesborough, passed at the same session. New taxes were hereupon imposed upon the Baptists in Ashfield, to support a minister whom they never chose; but their oppressors at length found themselves ensnared in the work of their own hands. For proprietors and inhabitants are two distinct bodies of men in law, governed by different rules; the votes of the latter being equal, but of the former according to their interest; so that the vote of a proprietor, who owns five hundred acres, is equal to ten inhabitants who own but fifty acres a piece; and by their act of incorporation, the power of taxation in Ashfield was put into the hands of the inhabitants and proprietors, both of whom could not do it together, nor either of them apart, according to that act.

III. THIS confusion afforded some respite to the Baptists; but hearing of further designs against them, they came to the Assembly at Boston, of May 25, 1768, with a memorial of their services and sufferings in promoting that plantation, and a prayer for a full exemption from taxes to a worship that they did not join with. A committee of three was appointed upon it; two of whom brought in a report to grant the petition: But Edson, their Chairman, was for giving time to their opposites to bring in objections; and to him the Assembly hearkened, and on May 31 ordered that the clerks of the inhabitants and proprietors of Ashfield should be notified of this memorial, that they might bring in objections against it, on the second Tuesday of the next session of the Assembly, and that the further collection of taxes from the petitioners should be

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suspended

suspended in the mean time. Col. Israel Williams was received a representative from Hatfield the next day, who was the most resolute judge in fining the Ashfield assessors in 1762; and before the close of this session a new act was passed which took the power of taxation out of the hands of the inhabitants of Ashfield, three years after the town was incorporated, and impowered the proprietors to impose what taxes they judged proper, for the *support* of their minister, as well as other uses; and to lay the same wholly upon the lands, in whose hands soever they might be, which were to be sold, if the owners refused to pay the tax. This was done under the same influence which has since involved the nation in blood and confusion. For in the preceding winter our Assembly came into a resolution to write letters to sister Colonies, to request them to unite in the use of prudent means against the attempts that were making, to bring America to be taxed where they were not represented. On June 30, our House of Representatives were required to *rescind* that resolution; which Edson, Williams, and fifteen more, voted to do: But ninety-two members rejected that arbitrary mandate, one of whom was Captain Benjamin White, a Baptist, representative from Middleborough. For this noble stand against tyranny, that House was dissolved, and no other called through the year; so that the Baptists could have no hearing, while power was on the side of their oppressors, who advertised their lands to be sold on May 3, 1769. But when they met, such defects were pointed out in their proceedings, that the sale was omitted; and each party came with memorials to the Assembly of May 31. Contentions betwixt the House and the Governor served as an excuse for not hearing the Baptists, but
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their oppressors were heard; and on July 5 it was resolved, "That all the votes and transactions of the said town of Ashfield, in their several town-meetings, since their incorporation to this time, be and are hereby ratified and confirmed; any omissions or neglect of making due and proper returns on the several warrants for calling the same meetings, or any of them, notwithstanding." Williams and Leonard (two of the Mandamus Counsellors in 1774) were of the committee who framed this resolve, though it was not passed into a law. July 15 the Assembly was prorogued to January, and in the mean time a new tax was imposed in Ashfield, and the Baptist lands were advertised to be sold April 4, 1770. In January they sent to Boston, but the Assembly was prorogued to March 15, when they sat at Cambridge, but did not receive the Baptists petition until the 27th, and it was dismissed April 4, the day their lands were to be sold. Some friends in Boston laid the cruelty hereof before some of the members so plainly, that their petition was resumed on April 10; but instead of then granting any relief, they were only put to more costs, to notify their oppressors to bring in objections. On April 4 the Assessors of Ashfield met, and sold three hundred and ninety-eight acres of the Baptists lands to support the worship of the opposite party. For a demand upon the Baptist minister of One Pound Two Shillings, they sold ten acres of his home-lot. His father had one of the best orchards in the town, which is of special service in a new place; yet twenty acres of improved land, containing the main of his orchard, with a burying-yard, and a small dwelling-house, were struck off to Elijah Wells, for Thirty-five Shillings; who on May 4 came and forcibly entered

entered upon it, and measured it off; and the next day came and pulled up a number of the smaller apple-trees, and carried them away, and offered to sell said house. These facts were proved by a number of witnesses before authority, though, to shift off the odium they were exposed to, by a new survey, they left out the house and burying-yard, and then accused the Baptists of falsehood in the first account. But nothing better could be expected, from men who could deal so unjustly, and could laugh at a mock-sermon, delivered by Wells upon that occasion, which breathed as great cruelty as words could express. Repeated applications were made to the Legislature for help, but in vain; and the Baptist agent was at last told plainly, that it was not worth while to wait any longer, for they would keep them under the law by which those lands were sold, as long as they saw fit. Receiving such a plain declaration from a member of the Assembly, in the presence of others, he went and acquainted the Baptist ministers of Boston therewith, who thought proper to publish an advertisement to all the Baptists in this Province, dated July 31, requesting them to bring in exact accounts of their cases and sufferings to their ensuing Association*, “Where measures will be resolutely adopted, for obtaining redress from another quarter than that to which repeated application hath been made unsuccessfully. Nay, complaints, however just and grievous, have been treated with indifference, and scarcely, if at all, credited.” Accounts were accordingly brought to a meeting of fifteen churches at Bellingham, September 11, who unanimously resolved to apply to the King in Council for relief, if

* A yearly meeting of their churches, began at Warren, September 8, 1767, called *The Warren Association*.

if it could not be obtained here; and they made choice of agents and a committee for the purpose; and wrote to their southern brethren for assistance in the design. This alarmed some politicians at Boston, who urged the Baptists to present an address to our Legislature, and they promised to exert their influence in their favour. A memorial was therefore drawn, and was signed in behalf of the Baptist churches, by their ministers at Boston and Haverhill; wherein the late testimony of our Assembly, against the taxing of people where they are not represented, was commended, and this liberty was pleaded for in the church, and in particular that the said Ashfield law might be repealed, and their property be restored; that others who had suffered in such ways might recover damages, and equal religious liberty be allowed to all. Soon after this was received by the Assembly at Cambridge, a piece was published from thence, dated September 22, 1770, representing that the Baptists had complained without any just reason at all, and that it would be serviceable to have an authentic account of the Ashfield affair published. And, after many great swelling words about the charity and lenity of these times, the writer said, "It was astonishing to most people among us, to hear the newspaper complaints exhibited by the Baptists; they could not so much as guess from whence they could arise." This was inserted in three or four Boston papers. And then, on November 15, the Assembly gave orders that Ashfield proprietors should be notified to bring in objections against the first prayer of the Baptists memorial, to their next session. And their old certificate law being out of date, a new one was framed, which changed their title to Antipedobaptists, and changed the time of giving
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in certificates to the first of September; which were to be signed by three or more principal members, and the minister, if there be any. The word congregation was to be used instead of the word church; and the parishes were empowered to vote the Baptists clear, if they pleased, without certificates. But the word conscientiously was still retained, and the certificates were required to be given in annually to parish assessors.

IV. MR. Davis, clerk of their committee, now called them together; and, upon examination, they declared themselves not satisfied with this law, and they advised Davis to answer the Cambridge piece. He did so, in the Massachusetts Gazette of December 27, by giving a plain and concise view of the Ashfield affair, and asserting that it was the sole cause of their complaining publicly at this time; and signed himself, A BAPTIST. But instead of any fair reply, a writer appeared in the Boston Evening-Post, of January 7, 1771, saying, "There is a little upstart gentleman, lately settled in town, who calls himself A BAPTIST; and the youth discovers a most insufferable arrogance and self-sufficiency.—I very much suspect, that he is one of those deluded young men, who are employed to defame and blacken the Colonies, and this town and Province in particular.—I am of the same persuasion in religion with this young hero,—and I cannot say what the General Assembly could do for the Baptists in general, or the Ashfield brethren in particular, that they have not done.—And I believe this is the opinion of Baptists in general, and of all others but enthusiastical bigots." And he had the impudence to annex to this, and much more of the same kind, the signature of A CATHOLIC BAPTIST. When Mr. Davis came to see it, he

he said he would never put pen to paper to answer such mean and dirty stuff. In the gazette of February 7 came out another piece, from a minister near Ashfield, supposed to be of Deerfield, who said, "It is a very common observation among us, that the people called separate Baptists in these parts will not stick at any false representations to serve their purpose;" which he attempted to prove by facts. But Elder Smith, of Ashfield, came down and answered him in the same paper, of March 21, when, from public records, he fairly turned that charge back upon the minister who advanced it.

THE Assembly met at Cambridge six days after, to whom was exhibited so large a bundle of reasons against their granting the first prayer of the Baptists memorial, as cost them Twenty Shillings to get a copy of it from the Secretary, it being twelve pages in folio. And yet there was no attempt in it to prove that the word support was in the original grant of Ashfield, nor other points that were truly to the purpose. Two passages in it may give a proper idea of the whole performance. They say, "*Natural rights* are in this Province wholly superseded in this case by civil obligation, and in matters of taxation, individuals cannot with the least propriety plead *them*." Exactly the doctrine of the British Court at this time; but which never could be carried into effect at any time without covering it with religious pretences; therefore, they went on to flatter our rulers in that respect, and to say of the Baptists, "Some have had the effrontery to say, that the standing ministry is corrupt, ministers themselves unconverted, the churches impure and unholy, admitting unconverted and *unsanctified* persons into their communion." As if it were a very uncharitable and daring

ing thing, for any not to look upon them to be a *sanctified* people, when they absolutely refused to profess themselves to be such! For our excellent Edwards was rejected by that county with much heat and bitterness, only for his insisting upon such a profession from communicants." We had direct intelligence that this piece was drawn in Judge Williams's family, and it was signed in the name of the proprietors of Ashfield, by Jonathan Taylor, Timothy Lewis, Samuel Belding, Benjamin Phillips, Philip Phillips. The three latter were the assessors who sold said lands, and the last of them was the man who got his brother assessors fined in 1762, for not taxing their minister contrary to law. The Council and House joined in a committee upon said memorial; and they say in their report, "There is an essential difference between persons being taxed where they are not represented, therefore against their wills, and being taxed when represented, and when what is taxed is *only* in consequence of what was the very condition of their grant.—What other method can be devised, but to sell the lands of those who *conscientiously say that they will not be as good as their word, or keep their covenant*, though it be so greatly to the prejudice of the public!—Your committee find, that in the sale of those lands there was no unfairness, but every thing was quite fair, quite neighbourly; and *quite legal*.—It is our opinion that said petition be dismissed.

W. BRATTLE, *by order*."

V. ACCORDINGLY, on April 24, the Council voted to dismiss it. And though the House was alarmed, and did not concur with this, but proposed to have a bill brought in to repeal the Ashfield law, yet their proposal was rejected, and the petition

petition with it. And what a cloud was hereby brought over an oppressed people! On the side of the oppressors was power, but they seemed to have no helper. But, behold! in a Boston paper of October 21, it was declared that the King in Council had disannulled that law. What a surprize did this occasion! How could so despicable a people get access to the throne, and obtain such an act, especially in so short a time! However it was soon said, that there was a man in Hatfield that would hinder the Baptists from reaping any advantage thereby. This was a mystery, till it was explained on November 8, when two officers, with a numerous aid, came to old Mr. Smith's house before he was up in the morning, with a warrant from Judge Williams to seize his person, and to search his house and shop for bad money. Smith readily promised the use of his keys, and desired that no lock might be broken, and also that he might have liberty to pray with his family before he was carried off. Liberty for prayer was granted by one officer, but in the mean time the other broke the lock of his shop, and damaged his goods there, and afterwards in his house; and then he was carried before a Court at Judge Williams's, where he was compelled to stand till ten witnesses were examined; from whom no evidence could be obtained against him, "Nor any circumstance tending to prove the indictment," as seven of them gave from under their hands a few days after. Yet Mr. Smith was held a prisoner through the night, in a cold room, and denied either bed or fire, to the great injury of his body, being above 60 years old, and infirm before. In the morning Judge Williams insinuated several things against him, without suffering him to make any answer, and bound him over to their next Superior

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Court, in large bonds with sureties. Like warrants were issued, it was said, against their pastor, who then happened to be absent on a journey. Reports were therefore industriously spread in the country, that notwithstanding all their talk, those Baptists were a parcel of money-makers, and their minister was gone to scatter it, and would never dare to return. But herein they were soon found liars, and though the country was ransacked in the spring for witnesses against his father, yet they all failed them. At last a man was brought near thirty miles for the purpose, who testified to the Court at Northampton, that he should not know the man if he met him in the room. So he was discharged, and the law was open for him to sue for damages for this malicious prosecution. But, lo! a bankrupt, son to the minister of Sunderland, had been brought over the river to enter the complaint against him, so that he might never obtain any recompence in this world. Yet God often takes the wise in their own craftiness.

VI. WHEN such noise was made at Boston about the Ashfield affair, Governor Hutchinson happened to look and find that the word support was not in the original grant of those lands; and perhaps he might hope, that by relieving the Baptists, he should draw them to his side of the controversy betwixt America and Britain. Be that as it may, he privately sent for one of their committee, and advised him to send the Ashfield law to a friend in London, who might present it to the King in Council; and he promised to write to Governor Bernard, who passed it, to use his influence to have it repealed. This was done, and its repeal was effected, and then their oppressors had their turn at waiting upon one Assembly after another unsuccessfully;

cessfully ; for though several acts were framed for them, yet the consent of the Governor could not be obtained, till they found out what his mind was, and conformed to it. In January, 1773, the Assembly appointed a committee, out of their members, to go up to Ashfield, and to hear both parties, and then to make a tax to pay all that they judged to be behind concerning Mr. Sherwin's settlement and meeting-house, and the charges which had arose about the same ; and what they judged any of the Baptists had paid more than this should be refunded to them, and for the future they should stand upon the same footing with their brethren elsewhere. The doings of that committee were confirmed by a subsequent act in February, 1774, and the small tax which was laid upon some of the Baptists they paid, and by this time their oppressors were sick of their own minister, and he was dismissed from his office, so that they lost the right in the town which they took so much pains to wrest from Elder Smith, besides the other unspeakable evils and scandals which sprang from thence.

VII. THIS account is carefully taken from our printed laws, journals of the House of Representatives, and other writings and testimonies ; and our opponents are welcome to point out any mistakes therein, if they can. A gentleman of great influence in our Legislature informed me, that it was asserted in the Assembly, that those petitioners acted with the rest in settling Mr. Sherwin, but now wanted to slip out their necks, and leave an intolerable burthen upon their neighbours, which story had great influence to hinder the granting of any relief to the Baptists. Whereas, if they had been informed of it, they would have demonstrated that this story was
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a glaring falshood, as also was the report of the committee whereof Brattle was Chairman ; for Wells, who bought Smith's lot, sued him for cutting the grass upon it in August, 1770, and upon trial in the winter, the Court turned the case against Wells, because the sale was *not legal*, two months before Brattle reported that it was *quite legal*. And said law being repealed, all those sales of lands fell of course. And who can describe all their guilt in those transactions ! If it had been right to tax the Baptists to Sherwin's settlement and meeting-house, taxes of six times the value of his settlement had been laid upon them, before the law was made to sell their lands for his support ; yet, for three years after, their oppressors asserted with brazen impudence, that those taxes were only to fulfil the original condition of their grant. But according to what our delegates to Congress asserted in Philadelphia, October 14, 1774, before many witnesses, the settling of Elder Smith in Ashfield in 1761 fulfilled that condition, and the denying of him the privileges of the first minister of the town was a violation of the faith of government ; for which, as well as for their great trouble and expences, caused by subsequent acts, they have received no recompence.

BECAUSE Governor Hutchinson procured relief to that society, some have blamed the Baptists for not adhering to him and his party in the general contest betwixt Britain and America ; but they had good reasons against it then, and have greater since. For many copies of his letters have been found among us, one of which is dated from Boston, January 23, 1771, directed to Governor Bernard, wherein Hutchinson expressed his earnest desire that Castle William might not again be put under the
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pay of this Province*, and that the power of choosing the Council might be taken from our representatives; and said he, "Something, I repeat it, must be done this session, to shew the sense Parliament has of our past conduct." And after further urging to inflammatory measures, he says, "The Baptists have made a little stir, and complain of being oppressed; but in general they have all the liberty which can consist with a legal establishment for maintaining public worship, without which we should be worse than we are. No Baptist in principle is obliged to pay to ministers upon the establishment. All who attend a Baptist minister are not exempt; if they should be, the congregations would be broke to pieces in all parts of the Province." He then gave reasons why the Ashfield law ought to be repealed, and said to Bernard, "I suppose you would not have passed it, if you had considered the force of the word *support*, and that it militated with the general law in favour of Baptists. I have no doubt it was artfully slipped in by one of the Hampshire representatives." Equal religious liberty, therefore, was far from his design, though he appeared for their help in that case. And the artful representative referred to was, for being one of the seventeen *rescinders*, set up as Chief Judge of their County Court; in which office he oppressed other Baptists in the following manner.

VIII. THEY formed a regular church in Montague, July 1, 1765; and gave certificates to parish assessors according to law; yet they were taxed to other worship, and distress was made therefor. Several attempts were made in parish meetings to have this disorder rectified, but in vain, therefore

Samuel

* In a clandestine way he had given it up to the British troops, September 10, 1770.

Samuel Harvey sued Montague assessors for a cow and calf, that had been taken from him for a tax to their minister. After the writ was served, a parish meeting was called, who voted to stand by their assessors, and said they meant to try the merits of the cause, whether these were the Baptists whom the law exempted or not. When Judge Williams came to deliver the case to the jury, he did not call that point in question, yet he said, "The law says the certificate shall be signed by three principal members of the Baptist church, and the plaintiff is one of the signers, and he cannot certify for himself, therefore there are but two, and the law says there shall be three." To him the jury hearkened, and turned the case against the Baptists, in August, 1769. They appealed to the Superior Court the next month; but the action was continued till September, 1770, when the case was called, and the witnesses appeared; but because they were Baptists, they were not admitted, and the case was again put off, and the Baptists were required to pay half the jury's fees. At last, on May 1, 1771, a trial was brought on, when Judge Oliver and others turned the case against the Baptists, upon the same point as Williams had before done. Upon which it is to be remarked, that before 1752, their laws required but two signers to a certificate; and the law they now acted upon allowed of no more than three, where there was not a minister, as was the case at Montague; and the signers could not have been exempted, if their names had not been in the list. Yet because they were strained upon, and not others, the case was turned against them, without trying the merits of the cause, as was promised; and after the expence of above an Hundred Dollars,

lars, the Baptists were left without any hope of remedy from our Courts. And, to worry them out, distress was again made upon their committee, and not others. A yoke of oxen was taken from Harvey, a cow from Sawyer, and Major Richard Montague was seized and carried six miles toward the prison, kept all night, and then released, and the officer went back and took a swine that he was fattening for his family. O how dark was this cloud over that little flock! Yet one of them said to his brethren, "Who knows but that God will bring good out of this evil? though we are stripped of our substance, yet unborn ages may praise him for this." Yea, they themselves have lived to see some happy fruits of their sufferings. One thing which gave a check to oppression, was a determination of authority, that the ministers of Baptist churches were lawful ministers, so as to have a right to marry people, and to be exempted from civil taxes. This was determined by the Superior Court, in one trial at Worcester, and another in Hampshire; the last of which was this year.

IX. NONE of their opponents appeared willing to release them, till they had tried the matter, and were taught the folly of oppression by experience. If we turn our eyes from the west to the east, we shall see further evidence of this. By assistance from Haverhill, a Baptist church was regularly constituted at Berwick, in the county of York, June 28, 1768. Mr. Joshua Emery was their teacher, though not ordained. They gave certificates according to law, yet were all taxed to other ministers; and John Gowen was imprisoned therefor in December, 1769. The like was done to Mr. Emery the next month; and he sued for recompence in both cases, but they were delayed till July, 1770, when Emery asked for a
summons

summons to bring the collector with his warrant. The Judge ordered the clerk to give one, to bring the collector with his original list. He came with it, but not the warrant, and the Council for the defendants said there could be no trial without the warrant; and the case was turned against Emery. He appealed to the Superior Court, where the collector was brought with his warrant; but then he swore that he did not take Emery as a prisoner. Emery told the Court, that he did take him and carry him to York, and held him as a prisoner thirty hours, and requested him to prove it, either now or at the next term. This was denied him, and judgment was given against him. With difficulty he obtained a continuance of his friend's case; and the parish committee promised to let the Baptists alone till that case was tried. Yet in a few days another tax was imposed and demanded. Upon this a complaint was entered to authority against the former collector for false-swearing, and he was bound over to Court upon it; but he repeatedly said, he hoped the day of death would come before that day of trial. And behold! he died suddenly just before the Court! Yet this did not hinder the next collector from coming and seizing Mr. Emery's horse, while he was visiting a sick person. The parish assessors were sued therefor in January, 1771, and though they tried a number of crooked ways to delay the matter, and to defeat the design, yet both this and his friend's case, that was continued, were finally turned against the assessors. John Emery, of York, joined to said society, and got the same certified to the assessors of the parish where he lived; yet he was taxed to their worship, and when he was from home, a collector came and seized his pewter therefor. But experience has since taught their oppressors

oppressors to cease from such violence. This account is carefully taken from authentic vouchers now in my hands.

CHAP. XV.

1. A Revival of Religion in New-Hampshire.
2. Baptist Churches formed there.
3. Publications of their Opponents promoted their Cause.
4. Mistakes about Catholicism.
5. Bolton Controversy.
6. An Account of Mr. Davis.
7. Reasons why the Baptists refused to give any more Certificates.
8. Oppression at Scarborough, and at Warwick.
9. Also at Chelmsford.

I. **A** SMALL Baptist church at Newton, in the south borders of New-Hampshire, formed out of a Separate society there in 1755, was the only church of that denomination in that Province, before 1770. In and after the year 1764 many were hopefully converted in several parts of it; where believers baptism has since been introduced in the following manner. About the year 1720 one Scammon, of Stratham, on Piscataqua river, married Rachel Thurber, from Rehoboth, who was a firm believer of the Baptist principles; but

the country round her was so full of prejudices against them, that in forty years she could gain no more than one person to join with her therein; and that was a pious woman in the neighbourhood, who travelled fifty-five miles to Boston, and was baptized by Elder Bound. But Mrs. Scammon had such a desire to have others enlightened, that having obtained Norcott's plain discourse upon baptism, she carried it to Boston, with a design to get it re-printed upon her own cost; though when she came to speak to a printer about it, he informed her that he had then one hundred and ten copies of that book on hand: Whereupon she purchased them all, and came home and gave them away to her acquaintance, and to any people who would accept of them; by which means they were scattered through the country, and among poor people in new plantations. And she would often say to her pious neighbours, that she was fully persuaded, that a church of Christian Baptists would be formed in Stratham, though she might not live to see it. This came to pass soon after her death, and the like in other places, by the following means. One Samuel Shepard, born at Salisbury, near Newbury, in 1739, was brought to the knowledge of internal religion when very young; and he learned the art of physic, and settled in the practice of it in Nottingham, near Piscataqua river. He had no knowledge of Mrs. Scammon, nor of any other Baptists, till he happened to see, in a house that he visited, one of Norcott's books; and upon reading it, there appeared such a fair examination of the scriptures therein, as struck his mind with conviction that believers baptism was the truth. But it being a principle hardly named among his acquaintance, the conviction went off for some years. In the mean time, as Mr. Ebenezer Jones,

Jones, a Baptist minister, travelled through Stratham, he preached a lecture, which was the means of the conversion of a young man named Eliphalet Smith, who was afterwards called to preach the gospel; and in January, 1770, was ordained the pastor of a Congregational church in a part of Nottingham called Deerfield. In May following, as he was preaching to his people upon the obligation that all who love Christ are under to keep his commandments, the command to believe and be baptized was opened with peculiar clearness to the preacher's mind; upon which he immediately found such a want of any warrant for bringing their infants, as caused him to pass it over in his sermon, and put him and most of his church upon such an examination of that matter, as convinced them that they had not been rightly baptized.

II. BEFORE this, Mr. Shepard, by hearing about Elder Smith of Haverhill, was brought again to think of what he had read in Norcott's book, and to search the scriptures concerning baptism, and was thereby convinced that the arguments for infant baptism were groundless, and was made willing to become a Baptist. Hereupon he improved opportunities of discoursing upon the subject with Christians of his acquaintance, which was large; enquiring whether he and they might not have been heretofore mistaken about the subjects and manner of baptism? Many were hereby put upon searching into the matter, which issued in a turn of mind to believers baptism. And Mr. Hezekiah Smith was sent for to Deerfield, where, on June 14, 1770, he baptized their minister and thirteen others; and within seven days he baptized twenty-four more, who belonged chiefly to Nottingham, Brentwood, and Stratham; and among those thirty-eight

ty-eight persons were a Congregational minister and two deacons, with Mr. Shepard; who by special teaching was brought freely to begin the great work of preaching the gospel on July 8, 1770. And he soon had some evident seals of his ministry. Mr. Smith, of Deerfield, with the most of his church, were united and established as pastor and flock in the Baptist order. Churches in that order were also formed in Stratham, Brentwood, and Nottingham; who all united in calling Mr. Shepard to receive ordination, and for the present to take the pastoral care of them. He was accordingly ordained at Stratham, September 25, 1771; and the ordination sermon, preached by Mr. Stillman, of Boston, was printed, together with the charge, by Mr. Smith, of Haverhill, and the right hand of fellowship by President Manning, of Providence; and their principles have now had a very extensive spread in those parts. Thus Mrs. Scammon's bread, cast upon the water, seems to have been found after many days; the books that she freely dispersed being picked up, and made useful to many. Neither did the writings of learned ministers, against the Baptists, weaken their cause, but strengthen it, as what follows will shew.

III. MR. Moses Mather, of Stamford, in his first piece upon the covenant, published in 1769, owns ingeniously, that the covenant of circumcision, in Gen. xvii. was not, strictly speaking, the covenant of grace, but a divine institution, whereby that nation was taken into visible covenant with God; and that the ordinances of that church were appointed as means for the regeneration as well as comfort and strengthening of its members. And he labours hard to prove that the covenant is the same with the Christian church; and

and that the Lord's supper is "A converting ordinance." And to those who hold that persons ought to profess saving faith, in order to come to full communion, he says, "This scheme makes infant baptism a mere nullity, or thing of naught. To me this conclusion appears just and unavoidable*." Mr. Ebenezer Farris, of Stamford, was roused hereby to such an examination of the subject, as not only brought him to embrace believers baptism, but also to publish a defence of that doctrine at New-York. And he and others called Elder Gano from thence to baptize them in 1770; and in 1773 a Baptist church was constituted at Stamford, and another at Greenwich, ten miles nearer to New-York. At the same time, the increase of the Baptists in Boston (above sixty members being added to the first Baptist church there) caused a great uneasiness among other ministers, and Dr. Chauncy published five sermons in 1772, to persuade people that it was their indispensable duty to come up to full communion in their churches. And after labouring hard to remove their objections against coming, especially because of fears that they were not born again; he says, "The divinely appointed way, in which persons become members of the visible church of Christ, is utterly inconsistent with the supposition, that, in order to their being so, they must be the subjects of *saving faith*, or *judged to be so*. The children of those who are members of Christ's visible church are, by the constitution of God, from their first coming into existence, members of his kingdom in common with their parents. So it was under the Jewish dispensation; and so it is now, if there is any validity in one of the principal arguments, by which we vindicate our practice, in bap-

* Said discourse, p. 17, 54, 57.

tizing the infants of those who are members of Christ's church*." The consequence indeed appears clear, that if there is any validity in their main argument for infant baptism, their want of regeneration ought not to keep them back from the other ordinance: But then this is directly against the testimony for the purity of their churches, which this author produced in 1743, p. 153.

IV. THE disposition of that party is further discovered by another publication at this time. A Convention of their ministers at Bristol, May 20, 1772, agreed to publish a discourse, intituled, *Catholicism; or, Christian Charity*: And it was printed this year at Providence. Many excellent things are inserted therein, about charity and a catholic disposition and behaviour, and false pretences thereto are well exposed, especially in the following passage. Say they, "Liberty and candour are the great basis of human happiness. We often hear persons extolling the advantages of both, who yet seem to be really acquainted with neither. For if they have any design on foot, any end to answer, or purpose to carry into execution, if you entertain different views, and with freedom speak your mind, you are instantly deemed an enemy, and you must be treated as such; so that if you escape without the sword, it is not so much owing to a generous spirit of liberty, as a want of power. To supply the defect of their power, your reputation must be blasted, your influence weakened, and your interest injured. Such liberty deserves no better name than tyranny, and such freedom the basest slavery†." The truth of this sentence is readily allowed; but to whom is it applicable? Those ministers evidently intended

* His sermons on breaking of bread, p. 106, 107.

† Catholicism, p. 65.

intended it against such as refused communion with their churches. They name the people who began to separate therefrom about the year 1744, and represent them as being furious then against *giving* and *receiving* ministerial support; but as now being so *inconsistent* and *dishonest* as to come into the same practice themselves†. Had they said assenting and forcing, instead of giving and receiving, they would have discovered a regard to truth and consistency that is now wanting in their performance. At this time they censure those as very unreasonable men, who hold immersion to be essential to baptism‡. And, speaking of asking ministers to preach occasionally, the writer says, “I cannot see the propriety nor expediency of inviting the assistance of any man, be his profession what it may, that denies ME the rights and privileges of the church of Christ.—If WE cannot eat and drink of one bread and one cup, in token of mutual fellowship, I see no reason why I should encourage such persons in their uncharitableness.” Is not this the charity they had before condemned, which begins and ends *in self* || ?

IN October, 1770, an act of their Legislature was obtained, to incorporate a number of men in Providence into a society, by the name of *The Benevolent Congregational Society in the town of Providence*, for the purpose of raising and managing a fund, to support public worship in the first church of that denomination there. This was the first act of that nature ever passed in that Colony; and it was published in a pamphlet the next year; in the introduction to which they recite their law against the use of force to support ministers (see p. 48) and say upon it, “Although this act was wisely intended, yet it was followed with great inconvenience in those societies

† Page 37, 38.

‡ Page 64.

|| Page 25, 66.

cieties where the support of the minister was thought to be a duty incumbent on the people, as thereby the burthen of the expence thereof was borne by very few persons. The Congregational society aforesaid has had a large share of this difficulty." And could they have had their desire, they would, undoubtedly, have introduced tax and compulsion for their support. But as the college in that town was formed upon another plan, said ministers refused to encourage it*. And though its charter, granted by their Legislature, explicitly exempts the persons and estates of the President and Professors of the college "From all taxes," yet the vote of a town-meeting in Providence was procured in August, 1772, to limit the meaning of those words to Colony taxes only. And because the Baptist assessors in 1773 left said officers out of their town tax, a town-meeting was called, February 7, 1774, who censured those assessors therefor, and published their resolves in the gazette against extending that law to town taxes. It is hoped that many who were active in that affair are now convinced of their error, and are sensible that they did not then shew the regard they ought to have done both to liberty and learning. Their honorable exertions in this cause since are freely acknowledged; and these facts are only mentioned to remove the ill effects of those publications, and to guard against such evils for the future.

V. FOR

* One of the first class of graduates in that college was ordained at Warren July 3, 1771, who has since been a great blessing in those parts. Others also were very successful, so that in the years 1771 and 1772, about 230 persons were baptized, in the adjoining towns of Warren, Swanzey, Rehoboth and Dighton. And President Manning being called to preach and administer ordinances to the Baptist church in Providence, caused a great turn in their affairs; and ill treatment from others was made to work for their good.

V. For the same end I shall give a concise view of another controversy at this time. A minister at Bolton, in Worcester county, after being intemperate at other times, drank to excess on a sacramental season, so as to shock the whole congregation. But when his church called him to account therefor, he at first denied the crime, and then confessed it; yet he violated his promise about offering satisfaction to the congregation. Three Councils were called, who were all for continuing him in office there. But as he had assumed the power to negative the acts of the church, even when dealing with him, and to dissolve their meeting without their consent, they called a meeting themselves, and chose a moderator and clerk, and made some proposals to their minister, and adjourned. But as he gave them no satisfaction, they, at their second adjournment, August 8, 1771, dismissed him from his office, and from their communion; and the town concurred therewith. This alarmed many others, who exerted all their influence to prevent the settlement of another minister there in those circumstances. Mr. Zubdiel Adams published a sermon against it in 1772, which was answered by one who styles himself A Neighbour; and each wrote again upon the subject in 1773. Two editions of Mr. Wise's works were also now published; on the other hand a pamphlet came out, said in the title page to be published *by the Convention of the ministers of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, at their annual meeting in Boston, May 26, 1773*; the whole labour of which is to prove, that a church has not a right to dismiss their minister contrary to his consent, or to the direction of others, where a Council of them can be had. For this end, they insert a passage from Cambridge platform, which

says, "In case an elder offend incorrigably, the matter so requiring, as the church had power to call to office, so they have power, according to order (the Council of other churches, where it may be had, directing thereto) to remove him from office." Now it is a known rule in grammar, that though a parenthesis is useful in its place, yet that the sense is good without it. So are Councils useful in difficult cases, if they hold up true light; but it is a violation of said rule, to make the direction of a Council essential to the churches act in dismissing their minister. Another authority produced by this Convention is a passage from Mr. Hooker, which declares for the use of Councils, and for the right of churches to withdraw their communion from an erroneous church, *that will not be reclaimed*. This will not be denied; but the question in hand was, where the power of doing it lies? Whether in the body of each church, or in a collection of officers above them? To confute the latter, and to establish the former of these points, was the main design of Hooker in that book; of which I have given plain proofs (p. 40) and am ready to advance more if necessary. Directly after their pamphlet came out, a Council of seven churches, viz. four from Bolton, one from Cambridge, one from Roxbury, and one from Dedham, met at Bolton, August 3, at the call of said deposed minister and his party. And, in their printed result, they have given it as their opinion, that the act of the church in deposing of him ought be looked upon as a *nullity*, because it had neither his consent, nor the direction of a Council of others, where it might have been had. They also deny its being the act of the majority of all the male members of Bolton church; which last assertion was soon after proved not to be
true

true in fact. In another publication he is introduced, saying, "I have three times been tried by my *peers*, and so far acquitted, that but little blame hath been cast upon me." And his advocate says of him, "Having never been condemned by the lawful judgment of his *peers*, and being still their minister in the eye of the constitution, he is justly intitled to the *support* they at first contracted to give him; neither is it in the *power* of his people to withhold it*." Which is making them *lords* over God's heritage, instead of being examples to the flock. Yea, it is claiming such a power in the church, as the British Court, even at this time, denied in the State. For the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts were, in some cases, a Court of Appeal, finally to decide executive matters; and Governor Hutchinson claimed a negative power in this, as well as in his legislative capacity. But as the question concerning it was referred to the King in Council, it was determined against the Governor, that he should not have a negative power in that Executive Court; which determination he was obliged to publish in Boston in January, 1774. And it is most certain, that the Christian church is only an executive judicature; yet those ministers were now contending for a negative power therein.

VI. AND though the Baptists had no hand in the Bolton controversy, yet it serves more clearly to justify their opposition to such claims of power at this time. A leader therein was Mr. John Davis, son to a Baptist minister in the Delaware State, and educated at the college in Philadelphia. He came to Boston in May, 1770, and was ordained pastor of the second Baptist church there the 9th of September following. He was one of the committee who signed the

* Adams's reply to the Neighbour, p. 13, 52.

the address of the Baptist churches to our Legislature the next month; but perceiving soon after that our charter gave them no right to support any religious worship by tax and compulsion, he plainly declared it to men of note; which was the chief cause of the mean and scurrilous treatment from the press, that he met with the next winter. General Brattle, when acting as Chairman of the committee of the Legislature in the spring, treated him in like manner; but when he had done, Davis arose, and distinctly answered his arguments, without taking any notice of the personal abuse that was offered him. A gentleman present said, the worth of the man never appeared so great before. September 10, 1771, the Warren Association made choice of him as their agent, to use his best endeavours, by the advice of their committee, in concert with their agents in London, to obtain the establishment of equal religious liberty in this land. And the compiler of this history was then requested by a number of ministers to undertake the work; and Mr. Davis promised his assistance therein. But, alas! he had done but little towards it before his health failed, and his life followed after. In August, 1772, he took a voyage to Philadelphia, hoping to receive benefit from his native air. And obtaining some relief, and meeting with one of his brethren in the ministry, who was going to preach to the western Indians, he set out with him, in company with friends who were going to settle upon the Ohio. But on February 1, 1773, the following account was published in Philadelphia, viz: "By advices from the Ohio we learn, that upon the 13th of December the Reverend John Davis, A. M. Fellow of Rhode-Island college, and one of the members of the American Philosophical Society, died

died there, after an illness of three weeks, in the 36th year of his age." The minister he was with informs us, that some of his last words were these: "In a little time I expect to be with Christ, to see and know him as he is now known, and as he is not known. My faith in my Saviour is unshaken*."

VII. In September, 1772, the author was chosen an agent of the Baptist churches in Mr. Davis's room; and the following events took place among them. Though their church in Chelmsford had given in certificates according to law, yet they were all taxed to parish teachers; and in a cold season, January 26, 1773, three of their society were imprisoned therefor at Concord, one of whom was 82 years old; and they commenced a suit in law for recompence; but their cases were long delayed. In Bellingham equal liberty was enjoyed, because there was none but a Baptist minister in the town; but a number of his hearers who lived in Mendon were so much oppressed with taxes to other ministers, that in the three preceding years they estimated their damages on that account at near Fifty Pounds. And these and other things being laid before the Baptist committee, May 5, they advised their agent to write to all their churches, to consider whether it was not their duty to refuse to give any more certificates to the power that oppressed them; and to bring in their conclusions upon it to their next Association. And further light was held up by their enemies a few days after. For, to vindicate their practice, they published an account of all their exempting laws in the Boston Evening Post, of May 17, and as the first of them ordered Episcopalians in each parish to be taxed with the rest, and then that their ministers should draw the money out of

* Jones's journal, p. 24.

of the parish treasury, it was now said, "Had the same prudent precaution been taken with respect to the Anabaptists, when they were exempted from being taxed towards the maintenance of the ministers of the churches by law established, those avaricious and dissolute persons, who get under water to wash away their minister's rates, without any expectation or desire of washing away their sins, would have had little or no temptation to declare themselves Anabaptists." When the Warren Association met at Medfield, September 7, 1773, they concluded to refrain from giving any more certificates to that power, for these reasons. 1. Because it implies an acknowledgment, that civil rulers have a right to set up one religious sect above another, which they have not. 2. Because they are not representatives in religious matters, and therefore have no right to impose religious taxes. 3. Because such a practice emboldens the actors therein to assume God's prerogative, and to judge the hearts of those who put not into their mouths. 4. Because the church is presented as a chaste virgin to Christ; and to place her trust and love upon any others for temporal support, is *playing the harlot*, and so the way to destroy all religion. (Hos. ii. 5.) 5. Because the practice abovesaid tends to envy, hypocrisy and confusion, and so to the ruin of civil society*. When the author came to Boston to compleat this publication, he met with two printed letters against the design; to which he returned the following reply, on October 14. "Mr. Draper, as you have allowed a pretended Baptist room for two long letters in your paper of the 2d and 30th of September, I hope you will give a real Baptist room for a short answer to him in your next. I call him a pretended

tended Baptist, and think I have reason so to do; for though he gives his word for it that he is of our denomination, yet the whole tenor of his letters is, to persuade us to be easy under the taxing laws of the other party; and towards the close of his first letter he says, *had we for a little while borne only the little finger of the Episcopalian hierarchy, we should think the burthen comparatively light, though we were called to bear the weight of the loins of the Presbyterians of New-England.* And is not the hand of Joab in all this! For my part, I am not able to get a pair of scales sufficient to weigh those two great bodies in, the Episcopal hierarchy and the New-England Presbyterians, so as to find out exactly which is heaviest: But if this pretended brother had felt what father Obadiah Holmes once felt in Boston from our opponents, he would not have been so easy as he now seems to be." Hereby a stop was put to that mean and scandalous practice, of assuming the Baptist name, in writings against their welfare. Neither did any answer ever appear to the above reasons for equal liberty, though oppression was still carried on under religious pretences.

VIII. By assistance from Haverhill, a Baptist church was regularly formed at Goreham, near Casco-Bay, June 20, 1768. And Joseph Moody, a member of it, who lived in Scarborough, had the same certified annually to their parish assessors according to law; yet distress was still made upon him for taxes to parish worship. For such a tax of about Six Dollars, a good riding beast was taken from him in 1771; he therefore presented proper vouchers of these facts to the Assembly at Boston, January 26, 1774, with a petition, that like the good Samaritan they would again set him upon his own beast. A committee was sent out upon it, whose report was to
dismiss

dismiss the petition, which was done. About this time eighteen men, of the Baptist society in Warwick, in a very cold season, were seized for a parish tax, and carried forty miles, and cast into Northampton gaol. On February 15, an account thereof was brought to the agent of the Baptist churches, who directly laid their case before the Legislature at Boston; praying that they might be released, that recompence might be made them, and effectual measures taken to prevent such things for the future. But, though a committee was sent out upon it, no help was granted. This moved one of the Baptist committee to express his astonishment thereat, in the gazette of March 3, and to ask how this news would be received in sister Colonies, or at the British Court, from whence late help had been afforded to our Ashfield brethren? A reply hereto came out March 14, which said, "No one can deny that they have been in great trouble of late; and whoever considers how dangerous the occupation of counterfeiting an established currency is, they cannot greatly admire at it." Which inuendo was catched at, and enlarged upon in the Providence gazette. Though in fact a Pedobaptist church member in Ashfield had, before this, been convicted of harbouring a counterfeiting club at his house, for which the Court gave judgment that he should be fined, set in the pillory, and have his ears cropt; while a Baptist member, whom they had ensnared, was only fined. Thus do men expose themselves, when they drag into religious controversy things which have no relation to it. In a Boston paper of April 7, the assessors of Warwick published a vindication of themselves in taxing those Baptists, in which they said, "We apprehend that every body politic have a right to choose their religion, and to enact laws for its support, and that they

they ought so to do : And since Congregationalism is the choice of the people of this Province, the religion which our forefathers had in view to establish in coming over to this country, we think there is good reason why dissenters from us should pay to the support of it ; especially since it is one condition upon which they receive and hold their lands." This last article is flatly denied, and let any of that party prove it if they can. And will any still plead for a practice that cannot be upheld without lying ! Another evil effect of it is before us.

IX. ONE of the Chelmsford cases was now tried at Charlestown. Jonathan Sewal, the lawyer who was most active against the Baptists of Haverhill, undertook for them ; and he must needs put the collector as well as the assessors into the writ. The effect of which was, that the jury judged the assessors to be guilty, and the collector not guilty ; and that the Baptist should recover of the assessors Three Pounds damages and costs, while the collector should recover costs of the Baptist for carrying him to prison, where he was confined above three days. The guilty assessors soon had their expences paid by the town ; but as the Judges and said lawyer went off directly, the other Chelmsford cases were never tried, nor the small sum now adjudged to one of them received. And no exempting law for the Baptists in this Province was now in force. These things being heard of at Philadelphia, caused an uneasiness among the Presbyterians there, and a man was sent from thence to Boston, and a new exempting act was passed at Salem in June ; after which it was declared in a Philadelphia paper, that relief was granted to the Baptists in the Massachusetts. Such pains have that sect taken to keep up their credit and influence in this country. But that

act was so far from affording us any relief, that it required annual certificates to be recorded in each parish where the Baptists lived, a copy of which could not be had without *Fourpence* of our money, which is *Threepence* sterling; the very tax upon a pound of tea that brought on the American war.

C H A P. XVI.

1. A Review of English Affairs.
2. Of New-England in particular.
3. Cause of the American War.
4. How it began.
5. Cause of so general a Union therein.
6. Its Progress.
7. The Vanity and Folly of our Enemies.
8. Divine Goodness to our Land, displayed in the Abilities, Temper and Success, of General WASHINGTON.

I. **D**ISPUTES about power and gain, under a religious mask, could no longer be restrained to words, but must come to dreadful blows. To this those claims have always tended. When Henry the 8th revolted from the church of Rome, and set himself up as head of the church of England, he ruled as tyrannically as the Pope did; though his allowing the common people to have the bible in their own tongue, gave much light to the nation. And a greater reformation was produced

duced thereby, in the short reign of his son Edward, than the church of England has ever attained to since. Neither do their ideas differ so much from ours about facts, as about the names they ought to be called by. An Episcopal minister of considerable note, after thirty years labour to promote their way in New-England, gave the following account of the cause of its first plantation. Says he, "While the virgin Queen, of immortal memory, sat at the helm, she steered so steady a course, and rode with so tight a rein, that Calvin's English disciples, impregnated with the leaven of Geneva, could do little more, upon their return, after the Maria persecution, than fret in their fetters, murmur, and mutter their discontents in secret.—To Elizabeth succeeded James, father of the martyr. He imagining it more for his ease, threw away the Queen's curb, and rode with a snaffle. Under this soft Sovereign the non cons seem, by the Galliotism of the state, and Grindalizing of the church, to have grown into great numbers. But Charles resumed, in some sort, the heroine's bridle, and gave leave to Laud to make use of whip and spur; so the sturdy Puritan, unused to restraint, and growing restive, finding that flouncing and plunging would not throw down, ran away from his riders, and took sanctuary in New-England. But good God! how dearly did that most pious Prince and holy prelate pay for this! and how fatal and lasting have been the consequences of that GRAND REBELLION, that brought both of those great personages to the block*!" That is, Charles claimed a right to impose laws and taxes upon the people without their consent, and

Laud

* Letters from Narraganset, 1752, by James M'Sparran, D. D. printed at Dublin, 1753, under the title of *America dissected*, p. 23, 24.

Laud endeavoured to cover and enforce the same with religious pretences; and because they drove on furiously in that way, until both of their necks were broke, arbitrary teachers have canonized them for saints and martyrs; and have stigmatized resistance to such power with the odious name of REBELLION. After the flames of war which they kindled had raged through three bloody campaigns, between the King and Parliament, their commissioners met at Uxbridge, January 30, 1645, to treat about reconciliation: But it could not be obtained, because a secret instruction from Charles to his commissioners said, "As the King's duty is to protect the church, so it is the church's to assist the King in the maintenance of his just authority; Wherefore my predecessors have been always careful (especially since the reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy entirely upon the crown, without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the King's head; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency*." Before the reformation the Pope rode foremost, and sometimes compelled Princes to walk on foot, yea, to hold his stirrup; but since, as is here observed, they have been always careful to keep the reins in their own hands. And this contest has caused infinite mischiefs in New-England.

II. THE first planters of it requested no more than equal liberty of conscience; and though the crown would only give a conditional, and not an absolute promise thereof, "Yet, casting themselves on the care of Providence, they resolved to venture†." On this foundation was New-England planted in 1620; and this has been its only support

* Rapin, vol. 2, p. 510.

† Prince's chronology, p. 57, 60.

port ever since. For though the Massachusetts company came over ten years after, with an ample charter from Charles; yet he and Laud soon attempted to vacate it, and at length positively required the company to send it back again*: And the loss of their heads, and the overthrow of Episcopacy, was the cause why these plantations were not then entirely ruined. In the mean time, an imagination of great purity at Boston emboldened the church to assume the whole government in this wilderness, with an expectation of exhibiting to the world such a view of the glory of Christianity, as had never before been seen. And the leaders here were enchanted with this bright image, until their charter was wrested from them in 1684; upon which the world resolutely took the bridle again into their own hands. And how flattering was their late prospect, of riding where they pleased without controul? Methinks I hear the British ministry saying, our fleets and armies have triumphed over all our enemies, and we are revered to the remotest regions. The wealth of both the Indies is ours, and our resources are boundless. The vast continent of North-America is wholly at our command, and who can hinder our doing as we please? Arts and sciences are already carried very high, and who knows how much greater improvements may be made? As to religion, fanaticism and bigotry are quite out of fashion, and reason and liberty are the darling topics of the age. Episcopacy prevails in almost all our Colonies, and soon will in the remainder. Parliaments have formerly made dreadful work; cut off the head of one King, and drove another from his throne; but those days of superstition and cruelty are at an end. The Parliament is

* Hutchinson, vol. 3, p. 105.

is now entirely at our command; and the establishment of its supremacy over the Colonies is all that is wanting to compleat the happiness of the empire; and who can prevent so great a good? Can a few factious fellows at Boston do it! The thought is contemptible! And we are assured, by the most respectable gentlemen upon the continent, that as soon as it is seen that government is determined to maintain its authority, opposition will cease, and the land will be at rest. At their head is a man, who, by the best history of his country that was ever published, has discovered a perfect knowledge of their affairs, civil and religious. And his influence is so great, that after he was made Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, he was freely elected into their Council. At the same time he had the command of their castle, the key of their chief harbour, was Judge of Probate in their head county, and Chief Judge of their Supreme Executive Court through the Colony; until his Majesty has been pleased to raise him to the highest seat in their government. Who then can scruple the truth of his testimony, or the sufficiency of his influence to accomplish our desires?

III. I AM sensible that these ideas will not please some men; therefore the following facts are adduced to support them. The most plausible plea for the claim of Britain to tax America was, that we were indebted to her for protection. If so, why did she pay us large sums, for assisting her in her wars? Our conquest of Cape-Breton, in 1745, brought her into debt to us, for which she sent us over a good quantity of cash, whereby we were enabled to call in our paper money. Yet, through jealousy of our power, acts of Parliament were passed in 1749 to prohibit, under great penalties, the erection of any tilt-hammers

tilt-hammers here to plate iron, furnaces to make steel, or slitting-mills to cut nail-rods; although no country abounds more than ours with iron. All this and much more was patiently borne, and requisitions from the crown, of assistance in the succeeding wars, were obeyed beyond our proportion; for which large sums were repaid by Parliament. Did this look as if they thought we were in debt to them? By no means. But soon after the peace of 1763, they passed an act to compel the Colonies to furnish certain articles for a standing army therein in the time of peace; the great engine of despotism. And as this act was but partly obeyed in New-York, their legislative power was suspended, until they should do it fully. To this the stamp-act was added, to deprive America of any legal deeds of our lands, or securities for our money, without paying a tax therefor to Britain. And when they were forced to repeal that act in March, 1766, it was resolved, "That his Majesty in Parliament, of right, had power to bind the people of the Colonies by statutes IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER." William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, had delivered a sermon, the preceding month, before the society who supported their missionaries in America, wherein he called the inhabitants of it factious people, ready to laugh at the bible; and said, "The spreading of GENTILISM in the Colonies calls for our rejected charity." And to render them as odious as possible, he accused them of annually stealing slaves from the opposite continent, and sacrificing them to *their* great idol, the *god of gain*. "Nothing (says he) is more certain, than that the infamous traffic for slaves directly infringes both divine and human law. Nature created man free, and

and grace invites him to assert his freedom*." Yet it is most certain that his party, in the southern Colonies, and in the West-India islands, have had the chief hand in that infamous traffic. February 20, 1767, John Ewer, Bishop of Landaff, before the same society, said of the first planters of New-England, "What reproach could be cast heavier than they deserve? who, with their native soil, abandoned their native manners and religion; and ere long were found in many parts living without remembrance or knowledge of God, without any divine worship, in dissolute wickedness, and the most brutal profligacy of manners. Instead of converting barbarous infidels, as they undertook to do, they became themselves infidels and barbarians. And is it not some aggravation of their shame, that this their neglect of religion was contrary to the pretences and *conditions* under which they obtained *royal grants* and public authority?" And having expressed his earnest desire and hopes of the speedy establishment of bishops in America, he says, "This point obtained, the American church will soon go out of its infant state; be able to stand upon its own legs, and without foreign help *support* and spread itself. Then the business of this society will have been brought to the happy issue *intended*†." (See p. 27, 28.) Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, of New-Jersey, now published a book upon the same subject; wherein he owns it as the opinion of many, that the circumstances of the nation now afforded the most favourable prospect of the speedy establishment of bishops here, that had ever appeared since Queen Ann's death. Yet he had the face to declare

* Gloucester's sermon, February 21, 1766, p. 11, 13, 25, 26.

† Landaff's sermon, p. 6, 7, 25, 26.

must be understood ABSOLUTE and UNLIMITED." And he refused his consent to an act passed in that session, to grant the salaries of the Judges of our Superior Executive Court, because he expected that the King would pay them out of the American revenue then collecting. In June following his letter to a member of Parliament, of January 20, 1769, was published by the Assembly at Boston, wherein he said, "I never think of the measures necessary for the peace and good order of the Colonies without pain. There must be an *abridgment* of what are called English liberties." This, and other original letters, were procured and sent back by the amiable and judicious Franklin, our agent at the British Court; who, as soon as this was known there, was spurned from thence with much scorn and bitterness; an infallible evidence that what they were in pursuit of were *the works of darkness*; for *he that doth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest.* John iii. 20, 21.

IV. IN November following arrived large cargoes of tea, which were sent over to establish a precedent of the power of the British Parliament to tax this country internally. From Philadelphia and New-York it was sent back, and not suffered to be landed; and the same was earnestly tried for at Boston: But Governor Hutchinson reduced his native town to the cruel necessity of either suffering it to be landed, and the tax thereon paid, or else of casting it into the sea; and the latter was chosen. Now the character of those who teach God's fear by the precepts of men, is to *watch for iniquity*: And when accounts of this and other transactions arrived in March, 1774, the British ministry imagined that they had got enough of it to cover and carry their arbitrary designs. And such

such use was made thereof, as to procure one act of Parliament to shut up the port of Boston, until their power was obeyed there; a second to rob the people of this Province of their right to choose their own Council; a third to screen the executors of their orders from punishment, even if they committed murder in doing it; and a fourth greatly to enlarge the Province of Quebec, to establish Popery therein, and to deprive its inhabitants of their right of trials by jury, and other English liberties. As these were hostile measures, Thomas Gage, the chief commander of all the British forces in America, was appointed Governor of the Massachusetts, in order to carry them into effect. And he arrived at Boston May 13, where he met the Assembly the 25th, but soon prorogued them to Salem, where a few acts were passed, and then they were dissolved, never to meet again upon their former constitution. The port of Boston was shut up in June, and in August twenty-four of the thirty-six Counsellors, appointed for us by the crown, were sworn into office; and writs were issued for a new choice of representatives, to meet them at Salem the 5th of October. But a week before that time the Governor, by proclamation, forbid their meeting; because the people had compelled some of those Counsellors to resign their commissions, and the rest were afraid to venture out of Boston. Yet most of the representatives met, resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, and sat at several times and places, until they dissolved on December 10; having taken various steps towards the internal regulation and defence of the country, and proposed a new choice of delegates from the towns, to meet in February. In the mean time all these Colonies considered the case of Boston as their own, and

and sent large contributions to its suffering inhabitants. Delegates from twelve Colonies met at Philadelphia, September 5, and sat till October 26, stated the unalienable rights of mankind, and the nature, limits and end of civil government, in a clear manner; and sent addressees to the throne, and to various parts of the empire, well calculated to expose, and, if possible, to remove the dangers that hung over our liberties. They also recommended wise measures for our internal regulation; and, in the name of their constituents, solemnly covenanted to refrain from importing any British goods, or exporting any of ours to them, after certain times set; if said oppressive acts should not then be repealed, until their repeal was effected.

In the night preceding September 1, a party of soldiers went and seized a large quantity of powder, in a public store in Cambridge, which, with some field pieces, they brought off to Boston; upon which a report flew like the wind, that Gage had sent out his troops, who were killing the people. Multitudes were alarmed hereby, and were marching in arms to relieve their friends, until this report was contradicted. And on Lord's day, February 26, 1775, a field officer, with about an hundred men, sailed from the castle to Marblehead, and then marched nimbly to Salem, to fetch some pieces of artillery from thence; but were defeated in their design by the vigilance of the people. After which Colonel Gilbert collected a quantity of arms and ammunition at Freetown, and sent to the Governor for protection; who thereupon wrote to the authority of Bristol county, to make provision for two hundred soldiers there: But, before they marched, some thousands of the inhabitants assembled on April 10, seized

ed those war stores, and dispersed that nest of enemies at Freetown. Yet after all this, and much more of like nature, we are informed, that the Mandamus Counsellors at Boston were under such an infatuation, as to give it as their opinion, that their countrymen would not venture to fight against the King's troops; and to advise their Governor to try the experiment, by sending a body of them to destroy or bring away the stores that were collected at Concord. But though this advice was followed with great secrecy, by crossing the water from Boston common in the dead of the night, so as to get twelve miles in their way before sunrise, yet they then saw a company of the militia collected to oppose them; of whom they killed eight men on the spot, and then marched six miles further to Concord; where they shot down two men more, before our people fired upon them*. And they not only used their endeavours to destroy some cannon and carriages, but also cast a considerable quantity of flour into the river. Hereupon the cowardly Americans drove the heroic Britons back to their ships the same day, with much terror and slaughter, although near two thousand of their best troops were employed in the affair; which will transmit the remembrance of Lexington, and the 19th of April, down to the latest posterity.

V. BUT how the inhabitants of a country of fifteen hundred miles extent, divided into thirteen Colonies, very differently constituted, wherein were persons of almost all nations, sects and opinions, could unite against the arbitrary claims of the most powerful kingdom upon earth, and could persevere therein for eight tedious years, in defiance

* This is a most certain fact, though it was contradicted by our enemies in London.

fiance of the utmost exertions, both of craft and violence, until those claims are fully given up, is matter of universal astonishment, and will be the subject of curious enquiry to future ages. To me it is past all doubt, that no other sufficient reason can be given for this unparalleled event, than the design which God has declared to us, in the passage that adorns our title page. Pride and disobedience to him had arrived to such height in both countries, that we must become dreadful scourges to each other, to discover what was in our hearts, whether we would keep his commandments or not.

VI. A SECOND Provincial Congress met at Concord, February 1, and proceeded to further measures for the defence of our liberties; and other Colonies did the like. The Assembly at Providence, in December, had ordered the cannon to be brought up there from their fort near Newport, which were now conveyed to the camp before Boston, formed by the militia, who assembled by thousands, and filled the towns and villages, from the bay south of Boston to Mystic river on the north; being a circle of twenty miles. On the other hand, the British Generals, Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, arrived with large reinforcements to their army at Boston. Charlestown, to the north of it, lies, as that does, upon a peninsula, the latter betwixt Charles and Mystic rivers. It contained above four hundred houses, many of them very elegant. June 17 the British commanders perceived that the Americans had begun to fortify a hill on the north side of Charlestown; upon which the town was surrounded with their ships and floating batteries, and then their army landed to attack our entrenchment. Burgoyne was

was upon a hill in the northeast part of Boston; and eight days after he wrote the following account of the action to England. Says he, "If we look to the height, Howe's corps ascending the hill in the face of entrenchments, and in a very disadvantageous ground, was much engaged; to the left the enemy pouring fresh troops, by thousands, over the land, and in the arm of the sea our ships and floating batteries cannonading them; straight before us a large and noble town in one great blaze; the church steeples, being of timber, were great pyramids of fire above the rest; behind us, the church steeples and heights of our own camp covered with spectators of the rest of our army which was engaged; the hills round the country covered with spectators, the enemy all in anxious suspense; the roar of cannon, mortars and musquetry, the crush of churches, ships upon the stocks, and whole streets falling together in ruins, to fill the ear; the storm of redoubts, with the objects above described to fill the eye, and the reflexion that perhaps a defeat was a final loss of the British empire in America, to fill the mind—made the whole a picture and complication of horror and importance, beyond any thing that ever came to my lot to be witness to.—Yet the day ended with glory, and the success was most important, considering the ascendancy it gave the regular troops; but the loss was uncommon in officers, for the number engaged."

VII. CAN this be believed by posterity? Major Pitcairn, who was most forward in firing upon our people at Lexington, was now slain, with two other field officers, two of Howe's aids, seven Captains, and about eight hundred men; besides near
as

as many more who died of their wounds, while our loss was but about half that number. All this in driving the despised Americans from a redoubt they had raised in one night, under the direction of a physician* as their chief commander; and after he fell, the British veterans did not venture to pursue our people, though it might have been done for half a mile, under the protection of their own ships and batteries. Is this their glory! it was glorying in their shame. And a plain account of their motives here follows. Charles Lee had been an officer under Burgoyne in the last war, and had contracted a near friendship with him; and hearing of his arrival at Boston, he sent him a letter, which Burgoyne answered from thence, July 8; and said, "The vital principle of the constitution, in which it moves and has its being, is the supremacy of the King in Parliament: A compound, indefinite, indefeasible power, coeval with the origin of the empire, and co-extensive over all its parts." And having laid this as his foundation, he, in an artful manner, went on to compare our conduct with theirs who beheaded Charles, and set up Cromwell; and that of his party, to those who expelled James, and crowned William; and then says, "These principles, depend upon it, actuate the army and fleet throughout; and let me at the same time add, that there are few if any gentlemen among us who would have drawn their swords in the cause of slavery.—I know Great-Britain is ready to open her arms upon the first overture of accommodation. I know she is equally *resolute* to maintain her

* The Honorable Joseph Warren, of Boston, who had just before been appointed a Major-General by our Provincial Congress.

her original rights; and if the war proceeds, your one hundred and fifty thousand men will not be a match for HER POWER." This was their capital argument; which, however, failed him and his army at Saratoga two years after. Our second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia May 10, and sent a petition to the King, wherein they assured him, that their ardent desire was, for the restoration of the former harmony between the two countries, and for its establishment upon a permanent and lasting basis; and said, "Our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her *dignity and welfare*." And they prayed him to direct to some mode wherein such a reconciliation might be accomplished. On September 1, this petition was delivered to Lord Dartmouth, by Governor Penn, and Mr. Arthur Lee; to whom the minister said, "No answer would be given." Now compare this with Burgoyne's declaration. He called their claims over the Colonies original rights, and the vital principle of the constitution; which was so opposite to truth, that it is impossible for any men ever to have such a right to power over others: And instead of a readiness for accommodation, they were earnestly barring the door against it. General Gage covenanted with our friends in Boston, that if they would deliver up their arms and ammunition, they should have liberty to go out with their other effects. But when he had thus disarmed them, he violated his promise in a shameful manner; which raised both the resentment and the contempt of the country against his party. It taught the people not to con-

side in their promises, and also to despise them ; as being afraid, that if our women and children were not kept there as hostages, the people would rush in and destroy or captivate their boasting army.

VIII. ON the other hand, because Cromwell, with the wisdom of the serpent, but not the innocency of the dove, made a great overturn in the nation, which yet ended in confusion and slavery, our enemies imagined that nothing better could take place here, if we revolted from their King. But how far are God's thoughts above theirs ? He raised up a man in Virginia, the oldest of our Colonels, who, by the Congress, was unanimously appointed the chief commander of our armies ; and as such arrived at the camp at Cambridge July 2. And through eight perilous campaigns he was preserved in safety and health, was enabled to unite reason and resolution, authority and mildness, until his country was delivered from the most imminent dangers, and peace restored to the nations ; and then he as readily resigned his command as ever he received it, and joyfully retired into a private station, followed with the universal esteem and blessings of his country ; while a demonstration is hereby held up to all the world, that prudence, uprightness and benevolence, will procure and preserve that honor, authority and happiness, which are in vain sought for in any other way.

C H A P. XVII.

1. Reasons why the Baptists joined in this War. 2. Gracious Visitations in our Land. 3. Labours for equal Liberty. 4. New Attempts to divide and enslave America. 5. The Folly thereof exposed. 6. Great Exploits performed. 7. To which succeeded terrible Inroads of the Enemy. 8. Yet wonderful Relief was granted against them. 9. Their amazing Cruelty. 10. Vast Uncertainty of our Affairs. 11. The closing Scenes of the War.

I. **S**INCE the Baptists have often been oppressed in this land, and would have suffered more than they did, had it not been for restraints from Great-Britain, how came they to join in a war against her? Many have wondered at it, and some have censured them severely therefor. But they had the following reasons for their conduct. 1. Where Episcopalians have had all the power of government, they have never allowed others so much liberty as we here enjoyed. In England all are taxed to their worship, while none are admitted into civil offices but communicants in

in their church. In Virginia they cruelly imprisoned Baptist ministers, only for preaching the gospel to perishing souls without licence from their Courts, until this war compelled them to desist therefrom. Of this we had incontestible evidence. Therefore we could have no rational hopes of any real advantage in joining with them. 2. The worst treatment we here met with came from the same principles, and much of it from the same persons, as the American war did. Many proofs of this have already been given, and more are at hand if called for. 3. The first Baptist minister in America publicly held forth, that all righteous government is founded in compact, expressed or implied; which is equally binding upon rulers and ruled; so that every officer, whether succeeding or elected, who intermeddles in any matter not fairly derived from thence, goes beyond his commission. (Vol. 1, p. 168.) When therefore our countrymen adopted these principles, and founded their opposition to arbitrary claims wholly thereon, how could we avoid joining with them? For, 4. those claims appeared to us absolutely unjust, and a direct violation of the immutable rules of truth and equity; so that a concurrence with them would have brought such guilt upon our consciences, as is infinitely worse than all the frowns of men. 5. Though heavy corrections were to be expected, yet a strong hope was begotten of final deliverance to this land; the good effects whereof might hereafter return to the people who now invaded our rights. It is not pretended that our denomination were all agreed, or had equal clearness in these points; but a majority of them were, more or less, influenced thereby.

II. A MAIN ground of the hope now mentioned, was the gracious visitations granted from time to time, in various parts of this country, which bespoke a design of final deliverance, and not of destruction or slavery. Within seven years past several thousands had been hopefully converted from the errors of their ways, in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. In and after the year 1773, a powerful work prevailed in Pittsfield, Adams, Laneshorough, Hancock, and other towns in Berkshire; and the like in the adjacent parts of the county of Albany, and into the State of Vermont; which raised and increased many Baptist churches there. And, to come nearer home, the second Baptist church in Middleborough was reduced very low, until a revival began in the spring of 1773, which by the fall of 1775 caused the addition of ninety members to that church, and thirty to our third church in this town. The work extended into the east and most uncultivated part of Freetown, where it raised a new church, and another in Dartmouth. In November, 1774, a like blessing was granted in Attleborough, which in ten months added thirty members to the first Baptist church there, and a number more to other societies. In December this revival extended into Providence, where it prevailed gloriously through the winter. Their college enjoyed a precious share of it, the good effects whereof are still experienced in distant churches. In ten months, more than an hundred persons were added to the Baptist church there, beside large additions to other churches in the town. And though the alarms of war in the spring caused a great interruption of spiritual exercises and enjoyments, in places near the scene of action, yet the same were promoted thereby in distant places. At the time of the

Bunker-

Bunker-Hill battle, a young physician was converted at Harverd, thirty-five miles off, who was called the next year to preach the gospel; and he is now pastor of a large Baptist church there, who are chiefly the seals of his ministry. Royalston and Richmond, to the northward, and Suffield, to the westward, were favoured with a considerable revival of religion at this time, as Pomfret, Killingly, and other towns in Connecticut, were in 1776. And while the defence of the civil rights of America appeared a matter of great importance, our religious liberties were by no means to be neglected; and the contest concerning each kept a pretty even pace through the war.

III. VIEWING the Continental Congress as our highest civil resort, the Warren Association, at their meeting at Medfield, September 13, 1774, agreed to send their agent to Philadelphia, there to follow the best advice he could obtain, to procure some influence from thence in their favour. A Convention of the county of Suffolk, at this time the head county of our Province, gave countenance to this procedure; for their seventeenth resolve says, "This county, confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the Continental Congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, will pay all due respect and submission to such measures as may be recommended by them to the Colonies, for the restoration and establishment of our just rights, civil and *religious**." These resolves were carried by said agent to that city; where he met with an Association of Baptist churches, from several adjacent Colonies, who elected a large Committee to assist in the affair, and by their request a conference

* The Congress gave their special approbation of these resolves.

ence was procured in the evening of October 14, with the Honorable Delegates from our Province to Congress, in the presence of several more of their members, and other gentlemen. It was opened by reading a brief memorial of our chief grievances in the Massachusetts, on religious accounts, which our Delegates endeavoured to answer; first by denying that we had any cause for such complaints, and then by attempting to cast all the blame thereof upon the executive department, and asserting that our Legislature were entirely clear of it; but plain facts, especially in the Ashfield affair, confuted both of these pleas; and the conference was closed with a promise from said Delegates of the exertion of their influence in our favour. But as some in Philadelphia made an attempt to turn these things against the general union of the Colonies, in the defence of our civil rights, a report was industriously spread in New-England, before said Baptist agent got home, that he had been to Philadelphia on purpose to break that union. And while he was gone, the first parish in his own town voted to tax all the Baptists therein to their minister, because they refused to give them any more certificates. He therefore soon met the Baptist committee at Boston, by whose advice a plain memorial of their grievances and desires was laid before our Provincial Congress; to which the following answer was returned.

" In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, Dec. 9, 1774.

" ON reading the memorial of the Reverend Isaac Backus, Agent to the Baptist churches in this government:

" RESOLVED, That the establishment of civil and religious liberty, to each denomination in the Province,

Province, is the sincere wish of this Congress: But being by no means vested with powers of civil government, whereby they can redress the grievances of any person whatever, they therefore recommend to the Baptist churches, that when a General Assembly shall be convened in this Colony, they lay the real grievances of said churches before the same, when and where their petition will most certainly meet with all that attention due to the memorial of a denomination of Christians so well disposed to the public weal of their country.

"By order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

A true extract from the minutes,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, *Sec'ry."*

OUR former charter provided, that when the Province should happen to be destitute of any Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, the Council and Representatives should have the whole legislative power therein. Therefore, by the advice of the Continental Congress, such an Assembly was convened at Watertown, July 19, 1775; to whom in September the Warren Association presented a memorial, wherein, after mentioning the above advice, they say, "Our real grievances are, that we, as well as our fathers, have, from time to time, been taxed on religious accounts where we were not represented; and when we have sued for our rights, our causes have been tried by interested judges. That the Representatives in former Assemblies, as well as the present, were elected by virtue only of civil and worldly qualifications, is a truth so evident, that we presume it need not be proved to this Assembly; and for a civil Legislature to impose religious taxes, is, we conceive, a power which their constituents never had to give; and is there-

therefore going entirely out of their jurisdiction.— Under the legal dispensation, where God himself prescribed the exact proportion of what the people were to give, yet none but persons of the worst characters ever attempted to *take it by force*. 1 Sam. ii. 12, 16. Mica. iii. 5—9. How daring then must it be for any to do it for Christ's ministers, who says, *my kingdom is not of this world!*—We beseech this honorable Assembly to take these matters into their wise and serious consideration, before him who has said, *with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again*. Is not all America now appealing to heaven, against the injustice of being taxed where we are not represented, and against being judged by men who are interested in getting away our money? And will heaven approve of your *doing the same thing* to your fellow servants! No, surely.—We have no desire of representing this government as the worst of any who have imposed religious taxes; we fully believe the contrary. Yet, as we are persuaded that an entire freedom from being taxed by civil rulers to religious worship, is not a mere favour, from any man or men in the world, but a right and property granted us by God, who commands us to *stand fast in it*, we have not only the same reason to refuse an acknowledgment of such a taxing power here, as America has the abovesaid power, but also, according to our present light, we should wrong our consciences in allowing that power to men, which we believe belongs only to God."—This memorial was read in the Assembly, and was ordered to lie a week on the table, and was then read again, and debated upon, and was referred to a committee, upon the receipt of whose report it was read a third time, and liberty granted to bring in a bill in our favour;

and such a bill was received and read once, and a time set for a second reading: But then other business was crowded in, and nothing more done upon it. Such is the disposition of mankind.

IV. As the British ministry were deceived, and entirely disappointed in their first scheme, a new one was invented, in the close of 1775; which was, by acts of Parliament, to declare all these Colonies to be in a state of rebellion, and out of the King's protection; to hire a large army from Germany, to add terror to the roarings of the British lion; and then to appoint Commissioners to proclaim pardon and peace to any Colony or place that should submit to their power, and promise to raise as much money among themselves as the Court of Britain should judge to be their proportion, towards the support and defence of government: Their peace to last as long as this was done. And in order to man the British ships, and to make all afraid of their power, their commanders were ordered to enter the names of as many of the captives whom they should take as they thought proper, among the list of their hands on board, so as to compel them to fight against their own country, and to be punished as deserters, if they should attempt to make their escape. And had not the Lord been on our side, when men thus rose up against us, how soon would they have swallowed us up! But when, in his wise dispensations, he had given them all the advantages that could well be conceived of, how easily did he turn their counsels into foolishness? For when the British party in Boston came to look out in the morning of March 13, 1776, behold! two stately forts appeared on the top of two hills in Dorchester, capable of commanding both the town and the ships in the harbour. Burgoyne's letter

letter to England the June before informs us, that his party had laid a plan to take possession of those hills, which was to have been executed the 18th of that month; but was prevented by the Bunker-Hill battle the preceding day. And as the only land-passage on to those heights was across an open marsh, within half a mile of their guards on Boston-Neck, and as they had a multitude of their friends scattered through the country, was it possible for several hundred tons weight of materials to be prepared before, and then to be carted some miles on to those hills, and two forts to be erected there in one night, by the undisciplined Americans, and the sagacious Britons know nothing about it! Yet such was the event; and let them deny it if they can. Not only so, but while they were preparing to go over and attack those forts, the winds and waves were put into such a commotion, as finally prevented the attempt. And on March 17 the British army, with a large number of our inimical countrymen, fled from Boston; and soon sailed to Nova-Scotia, or to Britain. Indeed some of their men of war were left in Nantasket road, out of the reach of our cannon; yet on May 17 a small armed vessel took a large storeship of theirs in the bay, which was conveyed into Boston in their sight, and they had not power to prevent it, having on board a thousand stands of arms, fifteen hundred whole barrels of powder, and a large quantity of other necessary supplies for our army. And on June 14 their ships were compelled to quit the lower harbour, by the firing of some cannon which our people had conveyed down the night before; whereby that port was again opened, which was cruelly shut up two years before. And about four hundred and fifty of their troops were captivated by our cruizers about this time;

time ; and a vast quantity of their goods of all kinds were taken and brought into our country.

V. Not aware of such events, the next object of British policy was, to appoint such men to execute their new plan as should be able to divide the Colonies, by drawing some part of them to accept of their pardons. And as Lord George Howe, who was slain near Ticonderoga, July 6, 1758, was so much beloved here, that the Massachusetts were at the expence of erecting a monument for him in Westminster-Abbey, who could be so likely to gain upon our people as his two brothers ? William was already appointed Governor of this Province, and Chief General of their armies ; and Richard, successor in title to George, and an intimate friend to Dr. Franklin, was now made Chief Admiral of their fleet ; and they were made joint Commissioners to proclaim pardon to all who would accept of it on the above terms. And as an army of thirty-five thousand men was to be at their command, who would not be glad to receive their pardon and protection, rather than to be a mark for their resentment ? But alas ! the winds and waves were so contrary, that the two brothers could not meet, to send out their proclamations, until July 12, eight days after the Congress, by the consent of the people in the thirteen Colonies, had declared them to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES. However, from on board their ships near New-York, they sent forth their proclamations, which our people readily propagated through all these States. And, with a packet to Congress, Lord Howe sent a letter to his friend Franklin, a member of it, wherein he says, “ Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed to see our differences accommodated, I shall conceive, if I meet with the dispositions in the Colonies which
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I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable, in the objects of the King's paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the Colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people, I shall, from every private as well as public motive, most heartily lament that it is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained."——Franklin returned an answer from Philadelphia July 30, wherein he says, "The official dispatches, to which you refer me, contain nothing more than we had seen in the act of Parliament, viz. offers of pardon upon submission; which I am sorry to find, as it must give your Lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business. Directing pardons to be offered to the Colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of encreasing our resentment. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns, in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood*."——Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and

* October 17, 1775, the enemy burnt four hundred and seventeen buildings in the town of Falmouth, in Casco-Bay. In the evening of the 7th of that month, their ships fired upon the town of Bristol, near Swansey; which caused the death of Mr. John Burt,

and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble china vase, the British empire; for I knew, that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their shares of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of these parts could scarce ever be hoped for.—The well-founded esteem, and, permit me to say, affection, which I shall always have for your Lordship, make it painful for me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as described in your letter, is the necessity of preventing the American trade from passing into foreign channels. To me it seems that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each others blood: That the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, are the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies.”

THE real nature of the controversy is here stated in a fair and elegant manner; and its whole progress verifies the truth of the word which says, *only by pride cometh contention; and the love of money is the root of all evil.* And can a clearer demonstration thereof be given, than for the inhabitants of one country to claim a right to be lawgivers and judges for others

Burt, their minister, and some others. Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, retired on board an armed ship, and drew off all the slaves and others that he could; and, after much other mischief, they burnt the town of Norfolk on January 1, 1776; in which cruel action, besides the unnatural nature of it, the whole loss to the inhabitants was computed at above three hundred thousand pounds. And a man was taken up, upon his way to the Ohio Indians, with a Colonel's commission from General Gage, to command all the savages and others that he could raise in the wilderness against us.

others three thousand miles off, so as to dispose of their persons and property without their consent? A darling practice of our age, especially among high politicians, is to set up reason above divine revelation; but how will their rules suit in this case? One of their noted authors expressly denies that God had a right to command Abraham to sacrifice his son, with an intent to have it obeyed; and says, "The command might be given in order to convince Abraham, that even his *honesty* and *integrity*, when not under the direction of *his* understanding, might *mislead* him in the conducting of his actions." The reason given for thus setting up an *inward rule* above the *written word*, is this: Says he, "It was *right* and *fit*, in the nature of the thing, that Abraham should guard and protect the life of Isaac; which obligation, as it is founded in nature, so it is *independent* of, and *antecedent* to, any divine command; yea, it is antecedent to the *consideration* of a *deity*, because it must and would be the same, if there were no such thing as a deity*." Yet when he comes to the question, *from whence does evil proceed?* he says, "The difficulty in this case may not arise from the state of things, but from the *weakness* of our understandings, and the *shortness* of our knowledge, which render us incapable of seeing *through* and to the *end* of them†." Very true; why then do these weak and dark minds refuse entire submission and ready obedience to HIM whose understanding is infinite? Had any due regard been paid to his authority in our mother island, we should never have heard of *paternal solicitude* in invading the unalienable rights of her children; nor of pardons brought upon the points

* Chubb's tracts, printed in London, 1754, vol. 2. p. 3, 12.

† Page 22.

points of bayonets ! At the same time we have just cause to confess, that all our sufferings were less than our iniquities deserved, and that we were far from giving God all the glory of our support and deliverance, as we ought to have done. To give a particular history of this war is out of my province, though a concise view of the chief events of it comes into our plan. Yet wanting time and means for it, my narrative must necessarily be incomplete.

VI. As Canada had long been a dreadful scourge to New-England, and the repeating of those bloody tragedies was intended by our enemies, amazing exertions were made to prevent it, and to unite that country with ours. Most of its inhabitants desired it, which was a great inducement to this attempt. Therefore the Colonels Ethen Allen and Seth Warner, encouraged thereto by the authority of Connecticut, surprized and took the strong fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, May 10, 1775, without the loss of a man on either side ; whereby above two hundred pieces of cannon, two vessels on Lake-Champlain, and a large quantity of other stores, fell into our hands. All this was done by three hundred and thirty men, chiefly from the State of Vermont. An army followed under General Montgomery, and after a close siege took St. Johns, at the farther end of said lake, and obtained the city of Montreal, November 13 ; previous whereto Allen was taken and carried to Europe. In September Colonel Arnold set off from Cambridge with eleven hundred men, and marched to Newbury-Port, from whence they sailed into Kennebeck river, and went up to its head. And though near a third part of them then returned back, yet the remainder went forward, through a great and terrible wilderness, over rivers, hills and mountains, where

where they saw not the habitation of any human person for thirty-one days, until they arrived among the Canadians on November 3, by whom they were kindly treated. And the falling snows, severe coldness of the air, and other unspeakable difficulties in that northern region, did not hinder their march forward, nor the junction of Montgomery's forces with them in December before Quebec, the capital of Canada. These were some of the doings of a people, whom British policy, or rather folly, had declared to be cowards and paltrons. Allen and Arnold sprang from the despised Rhode-Islanders. On the other hand, as General Clinton had sailed from Boston with some forces, General Lee set off by land, and headed him at New-York, in Virginia, and in North and South-Carolina. At length, being reinforced from Britain in June, by Admiral Parker and Lord Cornwallis, a furious attack was made upon the fort on Sullivan's Island, near Charleston; but they were defeated, with great damages in their shipping, as well as loss of their men; and the remainder returned and joined their main body near New-York. General Washington with our main army was there, and had erected various fortifications in that city, and upon Long-Island. And through the land many gloried in what the Americans had done, and evidently treated their enemies with contempt. But how vain did their glorying soon appear?

VII. OUR army met with a terrible defeat on Long-Island, August 28; were forced to evacuate the city of New-York, September 13; fought on a retreat at the White-Plains; Fort Washington was given up November 16; General Lee was taken December 13; and General Washington with the small remnant of our army retreated beyond the

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Delaware.

Delaware. Ravishing of women, and plundering of houses, by an enraged enemy, was seen through all the beautiful country of New-Jersey, and their cantonments were extended into the towns of Trenton, Bordentown and Burlington, on the Delaware; the latter within twenty miles of Philadelphia, over to which a few freezing nights might give them an easy passage. And if we turn our eyes to the north, we behold General Montgomery slain, December 31, in attempting to storm Quebec. In the spring our army were forced to make a hasty retreat from thence, being most cruelly harrassed by the enemy, and greatly distressed at the same time with the small-pox. And though a costly fleet to oppose them was formed on Lake-Champlain, yet it was lost on October 12. And on December 8 the enemy, with a powerful force, took possession of Rhode-Island, near the heart of New-England. Our first army enlisted for eight months, the second for a year, which was now expiring, and the soldiers were daily returning home. Our paper money had been kept in good credit, until large additional sums were made in September, which lessened its value; and such vast quantities of goods were taken by our cruizers, and sold at public auction, that sugars rose from five dollars and a third per hundred to ten dollars in three months, and the like in other goods. Thus our prosperity seemed likely to destroy us, for if our public credit failed, confusion and slavery appeared the unavoidable consequence. And, to accomplish this, if possible, the enemy counterfeited our paper currency at New-York, and in a clandestine manner dispersed large quantities of it through the country. Every earthly help failed us; but as our appeal had been to heaven against oppressors, many cries now undoubtedly ascended there, saying,
give

give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of man.
And what an answer thereto was returned!

VIII. WHILE the enemy were expecting in a few days to march in triumph to Philadelphia, on December 26 General Washington takes near a thousand of them, and carries them there as captives. And though a large reinforcement of the enemy marched up to Trenton, and expected to have our General and his forces in the morning, yet the next news they hear of him is at Princeton, a dozen miles off, where he captivates another party of their troops, and is soon gone out of their way, January 2, 1777. These things terrified the enemy in such a manner as to call in and confine them at Brunswick, within sight of their shipping, until spring, when they returned to New-York. Hard attempts indeed were made by some, to persuade the world that bribery moved the British General thus to act: As if men who could scarcely reward their friends for necessary services, could outbid their enemies, who had the wealth of both the Indies at command! Such violence will courtiers offer to reason, rather than to confess that wherein they deal proudly God is above them, and easily turns their counsels into foolishness. For though their main army sailed into Chesapeak-Bay, and marched from thence to Philadelphia in September, and kept it one winter, yet they got no real advantage thereby. Rather, by dividing their forces, they prepared the way for their own confusion. Burgoyne had acquired a large share of military skill and fame, in former wars in Europe and in the East-Indies; and thirteen thousand troops were assigned him, besides savage auxiliaries, to invade our country from Canada. Ticonderoga was thought by many to be almost impregnable, and yet it was deserted by our army,
July

July 5, before it was fully invested by the enemy, who pursued and harassed our people most terribly. And if the strongest fortress in the land was thus given up, only upon seeing the manner of the enemy's approach, how easily might they subdue an open country, and march where they pleased! Where is the power now that can defend us! A great consternation spread through the country; and to pursue this advantage with the utmost speed, moved Burgoyne to take such methods as effectually defeated his designs. Had he returned a little back, and taken the advantage of a water passage over Lake-George, he might have reached to Fort-Edward much sooner than he did. But fearing an abatement of the ardour of his troops, and of the consternation of the Americans, he pursued them in a way attended with great natural impediments, which were much augmented by fallen trees and other obstacles then thrown in their way. So that by the time he sent out a party towards Bennington, with a haughty proclamation to intimidate our countrymen, their spirits were revived, and on August 16 they faced the enemy's encampment, and forced their lines with undaunted resolution. His western detachment, under St. Ledger, was also defeated. And the chief commanders in that department being removed, and others appointed, in whom our people had confidence, they were all alive in the defence of our country. Ticonderoga was recovered, and every resource and way of escape was cut off; so that the haughty General and his army had no way left but to surrender themselves and their weapons into the hands of the people they had greatly abused and despised. This was on October 17. All Europe were astonished at this event; and one of their most powerful

ful Princes soon made the propofal, which was accomplished on February 6, 1778, of coming into an alliance with the United States of America. Hereby a great turn was made in our affairs, and a door was opened for our deliverance, though not without many other trying fcenes.

IX. As the invaders of our rights called us rebels, it was very difficult fettling a cartel for the exchange of prifoners; and when that was agreed upon, new difficulties about it soon arofe. When they had taken General Lee, who had been one of their officers, he was not dealt with as our country officers in their hands were; which moved the Congress to order fome retaliation upon their officers in our hands, which caufed reciprocal complaints, and many terrible actions on both fides. On January 1, 1777, two hundred of our countrymen, who had been prifoners at New-York, were brought to Milford to be exchanged; but they had been fo cruelly ufed, that a very large part of them died before their friends could have notice of it, fo as to afford them any relief. Two young men from Middleborough, and a pious member of a Baptift church in Attleborough, died there in that manner. And during the war their prifon-fhips at New-York destroyed many thoufands of our people, in a much more cruel manner than common murder. Therefore when there was a want of union and vigour in the defence of our country at any time, new attempts of the enemy againft us never failed of fupplying that want. They plainly acted like thieves and robbers in all parts of the land. In the morning of May 25, 1778, a party of them came up to Warren, and burnt their meeting-house and minifter's houfe, with fome others; plundered their goods, and carried off feveral of the inhabitants
that

that were not in arms, one of whom was the pastor of the Baptist church there, who was confined for some time in a prison-ship at Newport. On their return they burnt a number of houses in Bristol, among which was their Episcopal church. But I must not enlarge upon this subject. Other Commissioners were now sent over, with new offers of pardon, and also of an enlargement of our privileges, if we would submit to the British government. Copies thereof were sent to the Congress, and to the Governors of the several States. In answer to those sent to Governor Trumbull, he well said, "There was a day when even this step, from our then acknowledged parent state, might have been accepted with joy and gratitude; but that day, sir, is past irrecoverably. The repeated rejection of our sincere and sufficiently humble petitions; the commencement of hostilities; the inhumanity which has marked the prosecution of the war on your part in its several stages; the insolence which displays itself on every petty advantage; the cruelties which have been exercised on those unhappy men, whom the fortune of war has thrown into your hands; all these are insuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a peace with Great-Britain, on any other conditions than the most absolute, perfect independence." However, the vast uncertainty of human affairs must yet be largely experienced, before such a peace could be obtained.

X. GENERAL Howe was recalled, and Clinton took his place as Chief Commander; and he evacuated Philadelphia, after they had possessed it near nine months, and marched his army across the lower part of New-Jersey, where General Washington gave them battle, near Monmouth court-house, June 28; when many were slain on both sides,

sides, and the excessive heat of the air cut off many more. And no sooner had the British troops arrived at New-York, than a powerful French fleet appeared upon the coasts, and came before that place. British fears and American hopes were raised hereby; which alternately were as changeable as the winds. The French made no attempt upon New-York; but their speedy arrival at Rhode-Island caused considerable destruction of the British shipping, and raised the hopes of our people of seeing that place delivered. Many thousands were collected for that purpose, who, under the command of General Sullivan, landed upon the island, August 9. But the appearance of the British fleet drew that of France out of the harbour the same day; and a terrible storm soon dispersed and shattered both fleets, so as to prevent any general engagement, or a deliverance to Rhode-Island. In December the capital of Georgia was taken, by a party of the British troops. In 1779 various attempts were made to open a passage up the North River; but finding it impracticable, a strong party was sent to New-Haven, who slew a number of the inhabitants, and plundered the town; and then went and burnt the beautiful towns of Fairfield and Norwalk. Their malignity was hereby further discovered; but it could not draw the sagacious Washington from the mountains, while he saw a powerful fleet and army below him. From Georgia a party of their troops marched to the gates of Charleston; but the arrival of a French fleet on the coasts turned them back to Savannah; which place our friends attempted to take by storm on October 9, but without success. Thus the hopes of help from our allies were a second time disappointed. The produce of the field was also
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so much cut short last year, that bread was the scarcest the beginning of this that we had ever known. And to have the judgment of famine added to that of the sword, would be terrible indeed. But infinite goodness now gave us an earlier harvest than we had ever seen, and in a few months our scarcity was turned into plenty. And on October 24 the enemy went off from Rhode-Island, which was a great relief to this part of the country.

XI. HAVING made sufficient trial of these northern hills, they flattered themselves with much greater advantages in the southern plains of America. And for a while it seemed as if in that way they would have carried all before them. A large force sailed from New-York in December, and though they had a tempestuous passage, yet after some repairs at Georgia they came and besieged the capital of South-Carolina; which was compelled to yield to them, May 12, 1780. The country then lay open to their ravages; and on August 16 General Gates, who had gained great fame in the north, was entirely defeated in those southern regions. And though a French fleet and army arrived at Rhode-Island July 10, yet none could then tell whether we should obtain any solid benefit thereby. Our public credit was sinking daily, even so that scarce any recruits for our army could be obtained, but upon private personal security. And in November the officers therein constrained the Congress to promise them half-pay during life, to prevent their deserting the public service of their country. In June our currency had depreciated so far, that seventy-five paper dollars were readily given for one of silver. By orders from Congress, the New-England States then came into such measures as kept it at a stay until February.

February, 1781; when the pouring in vast quantities of it from the southward gave it such a rapid turn, that it run entirely down in May, so as to stop passing. Before which General Greene, on March 14, lost a large number of men in the battle of Guilford court-house, in North-Carolina; from whence Lord Cornwallis marched with a powerful army into Virginia, where he spread much terror, and laid waste the country; while the credit of Congress was sunk so low, as scarcely to be able to send the least supply to General Greene. Yet, to the astonishment of our enemies, he was made instrumental of an entire recovery of South-Carolina and Georgia. A loan of money from France revived our public credit; their troops marched through the land, from Rhode-Island to Virginia; the winds and seas, with the hearts of the people, all concurred together to compel another experienced British General, with a large and powerful army, to yield themselves as prisoners to the despised and much injured Americans, October 19, 1781. The effect of which was, that on November 30, 1782, the British Court fully gave up their claims to these Thirteen United States; which treaty was to take place as soon as peace was settled with France and the other powers concerned. Preliminaries for it were signed January 20, and the peace was settled in September, 1783. Though before we say more upon it, we must take a further look at things among ourselves.

C H A P.

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C H A P. XVIII.

1. A new Constitution framed, but not accepted.
2. Pepperell riot.
3. Government and Liberty described.
4. But much opposed.
5. Our present Constitution brought in.
6. Baptist Testimonies rejected.
7. What their Faith and Order is.
8. A Charge to embrace further Light as it opens.

I. **O**UR Assembly for 1777 were empowered to frame a new constitution of government, which was to be established or rejected by the next Assembly. This was done in the winter after, but without any bill of rights; and an article was inserted therein to adopt their old ecclesiastical laws, which caused the Baptist agent and committee to meet at Boston February 21, 1778, and to draw up an address to our next Assembly against those laws, with a prayer that it might be fixed as a fundamental principle of our government, "That ministers shall be supported only by Christ's authority, and not at all by assessment and secular force; which impartial liberty has long been claimed and enjoyed by the town of Boston." An hundred copies of it were printed and dispersed, and a large number of various denominations subscribed it. This gave such an alarm, that an earnest warning was given to our rulers, in the election sermon

sermon at Boston, May 27, against making any alteration in their established modes and usages in religion; when it was said, "Let the restraints of religion once be broken down, as they infallibly would be by leaving the subject of public worship to the humours of the multitude, and we might well defy all human wisdom and power to support and preserve order and government in the State*." However that constitution was set aside; and his party in the country, soon after, gave a remarkable discovery of what their ideas were about religion and good order.

II. For two young Baptist ministers were called to preach in Pepperell, near forty miles northwestward of Boston, to whom six persons offered themselves as candidates for baptism. Therefore, on June 26, they met in a field by a river side, where prayers were made, and a sermon begun, when the chief officers of the town, with many followers, came and interrupted their worship. The owner of the field warned them to depart out of it, if they would not be peaceable; but they refused to go. One of the Baptist ministers desired them to act like men, if they would not like Christians; and reminded them of the liberty of conscience which is generally allowed, and even by the powers we were at war with; and began to open the divine warrant therefor: Upon which an officer said, "Don't quote scripture here!" Another of them, who was a communicant in their church, cast the odious name tory upon one of those candidates for baptism. And he no sooner attempted to discover the injustice thereof, than the officer said, "Hold your tongue, or I'll beat your teeth down your throat!" And a dog was carried into the river and plunged, in evident contempt

* Payson's sermon, p. 20.

contempt of our sentiments. A gentleman of the town then invited the Baptists to go and hold their meeting at his house, which was near another river. They accepted of it, and so went through with their worship. At the close of which a man was hired with a bowl of liquor to go into the river, and dip another two or three times over; where also two or three dogs more were plunged. After which three officers of the town came into the house where the Baptist ministers were, and advised them immediately to depart out of that town for their own safety. Being asked whether their lives would be in danger if they did not depart? no answer was returned. But seeing their temper, the Baptists agreed to disperse, and to meet at a distant place of water; which was performed, and those six persons were decently baptized, though further abuse was offered at the close of it. By direction of the Warren Association, an account of these things was published in the Independent Chronicle of October 15; which others laid before the Grand Jury of the county of Middlesex. But they were prevailed with to suspend the matter, until the town should vindicate themselves. This they attempted in the Chronicle of November 12. It mainly turned upon disputing the names of actions, and about the persons who performed them. The Baptist account charged the hiring of a person to go into the water upon an officer, which was said to be by way of mockery. But say the town, "The misrepresentation of this affair, and indeed a most unpardonable one it is, appears from considering, that the conduct of said Bynton and Lawrence was altogether from the instigation of a youngster, who promised Bynton a bowl of liquor on complying with his proposal; and this was done inconsiderately, and not meant as
a piece

a piece of religious mockery. The officers of the town had no concern in that affair.—They were quite opposite, and particular care was taken by the officers of the town to prevent *riotous* behaviour, and to maintain peace and *good order*. That we did, as a town, pay particular attention to the conduct of those *dangerous* persons, is a fact we do not wish to conceal." Now the dangerous person, who then carried into Pepperell the dangerous practice of quoting scripture to defend liberty of conscience, and of *burying in baptism*, was Isaiah Parker, pastor of the Baptist church in Harvard, who from that day to this is allowed by authority to be a regular minister of Jesus Christ, though he is not a State minister. Another event, still more dangerous to their way, was as follows.

III. By the unanimous voice of the Warren Association of September 8, a pamphlet was published, which says, "As the affairs of GOVERNMENT and LIBERTY are the greatest points of controversy now in the world, it certainly is of great importance that our ideas be clear and just concerning them. Permit us therefore to offer a few thoughts upon a familiar metaphor, which the Holy Ghost has used to illustrate their true nature. In Amos v. 24, he says, *let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream*. From whence we may observe, 1. That judgment and righteousness are essential to freedom. When we would represent any thing as quite free, we say it is as free as water. And not only the flow of mercy and grace from God to men, but also its effects in them, in producing obedience unto him, are often compared thereto in the word of truth. John iv. 14, vii. 38, Titus ii. 11, 12, iii. 5—8. This is most certain, because, 2. Freedom is not acting at random, but
by

by reason and rule. Those who walk after their own lusts, are *clouds without water, carried about by winds*; or *raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame*; while the true SONS OF LIBERTY are like streams which *run down* in a clear and steady channel. David says, *I will run the way of thy commandments, when thou shalt enlarge my heart. I will walk at liberty, for I seek thy precepts.* Streams and rivers must have steady channels to run in; but they that *promise liberty* while they *despise government*, are *wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest.* 2 Peter ii. 10—19. 3. Though tyranny and licentiousness often make a great noise, yet government and liberty are much stronger than they are. The former, like raging waves, dash themselves against the rocks, and die upon the shore; or like a tempest, after making sad waste and devastation, their strength is gone, and their force is over. While the latter, like a *mighty stream*, carry all before them, and never rest till they can get through or over all obstacles put in their way. 4. Streams and rivers are of great use, and cause a constant flow of refreshment and blessings wherever they come; so does the exercise and administration of judgment and righteousness, among all people that enjoy them. Hence, 5. The command of heaven is, *let them run down*: Put no obstruction in their way. No, rather be in earnest to remove every thing that hinders their free course. 6. The context plainly shews, that a main obstruction to these great blessings among the people then spoken to, was their assuming a power to govern religion, instead of being governed by it. True religion is a voluntary obedience unto God. And the great design of all ordinances and acts of worship towards him, is that thereby we may obtain pardon and cleansing, with direction

direction and assistance to behave as we ought towards our fellow men. But instead of this, those people added their own inventions to divine institutions, and substituted their acts of devotion towards God, in the place of a righteous practice towards men; or for a cover to their contrary conduct: And they would fain have been thought very religious, although they turned *judgment into worm-wood, bated him that rebuked in the gate, and abhorred him who spake uprightly.*

IV. INFINITE wisdom disposed things in such a manner, as to give a keener edge to this remonstrance than could be foreseen by man. For an extract from the last election sermon, and also from Chauncy against Chandler, was added to the above observations, with some remarks thereon. At the same time our army on Rhode-Island saw such danger of being surrounded by the British fleet, that they wisely came off with all their stores, in the night after August 30. Chauncy imagined that this defeat might be turned to ministerial advantage; and therefore at his next lecture, when many of our rulers were present, he delivered a discourse from the seventh of Joshua, wherein he represented that one of the *accursed things* which caused that defeat, was their neglect of making a new law to help ministers about their salaries, which the depreciation of our currency had greatly lessened. This sermon was soon printed and dispersed in the country. And in the Continental Journal of October 8 it was highly commended, and its author also; and then it was said, "Although the General Assembly has now been sitting for some time, no motion (as I can learn) has as yet been made, or is likely to be made, for this purpose.—Are the clergy then to submit to this treatment? Are they as an order, and the only

only order of men in the community, to remain subjected to *injustice and fraud!*" Now it was so ordered, that the above passages in the Baptist pamphlet were inserted in the Independent Chronicle the same day, in the same street in Boston. By which means the same author was declaring to the world in one paper, that all religious establishments were of infinite damage to the cause of God and true religion; and in another, that the want of further exertions in that way was an accursed thing, which caused the defeat of our army. And what could be done in such a case? In the Boston Gazette of November 2 it was declared, that said Baptist pamphlet "Exhibited only a compound of *ignorance, impudence and abuse.*" And their refusal to comply with ministerial demands, was declared to be a using force against them; upon which it was said, "I cannot conceive that it is more proper to use force against ministers than for them; yet this is the subject from which a set of men, who have occasioned more disturbance and damage to this State than would be repaired by all the money which selling them all for slaves would produce, derive their importance." And the secular arm was called for to punish them. This was so far from being obtained, that the pastor of the first Baptist church in Boston was called to preach the election sermon there, May 26, 1779, in which the difference between church and State was well described, with the importance of keeping them entirely distinct; and it was printed and sent through the State by order of authority. However our opponents were far from yielding this point.

V. DELEGATES from the several towns, elected entirely for the purpose of framing a new constitution of government, met on September 1, and chose

chose a large committee to make a draught for their consideration, and adjourned. When they met again, they took in hand a bill of rights which was laid before them. The third article therein was to give civil rulers power in religious matters, which occasioned much debate; until a Baptist member moved to have that article re-committed. The motion was concurred with, and he was elected the Chairman of a committee of seven upon that article. Five of them were great politicians, and they brought in a new draught, which, after warm debates, was passed by a majority, November 10, as it now stands in our constitution. In order to obtain this vote, it was asserted that there never was any persecution in this land; but that what had been so called were only just punishments upon disorderly persons, and disturbers of the public peace. And the Baptists were accused of sending their agent to Philadelphia in 1774, with a false memorial of grievances, in order to break the union of the Colonies. Sharp debates were caused hereby for some time; but the first volume of our history was brought in and laid upon the table, which silenced the first part of those declamations, and their agent being informed of the latter part, published said third article in the Chronicle of December 2, with reasons against the power claimed in the middle part of it; and then named his accusers concerning the Philadelphia affair, and charged them with a violation of their promise made there; and challenged them to a fair hearing before any proper judges. This was so far from being granted, that a long reviling piece, full of glaring deceit, came out in the Chronicle of February 10, 1780; which was soon after re-printed in the Providence Gazette,

where the appeal it pretended to answer was not known. It accused the Baptist members of the Convention of *bitterness and rage* against their ministers, especially for comparing them to the sons of Eli; and to prove that they were not worthy of that charge, the writer says, "Eli's sons were not to blame for taking that part of the offerings which the law allowed them, but for the *illegal manner* in which they took it." Very true; and the only cause of the bitterness and rage now discovered against the Baptists, was their refusal to countenance such an *illegal* and wicked *manner* of proceeding. An anonymous Baptist writer began some publications in the Chronicle, against the power of taxation claimed in the abovesaid third article, about the time that the constitution was finished. In answer to whom a writer appeared in the Continental Journal of March 9, saying, "The wicked enemies of our civil and sacred rights are like the troubled sea, whose waters cannot rest, but being driven by furious winds are continually casting up mire and dirt.—There is a certain junto composed of disguised tories, British emissaries, profane and licentious Deists, avaricious worldlings, disaffected sectaries, and furious blind bigots, who had much rather overturn and destroy the Commonwealth, than not to have the gratification of their own humour." And he subscribed himself *Irenæus, a member of Convention*. The Baptist agent and committee met April 6, and published an appeal to the people of this State, against the taxing power for religious teachers claimed in the new constitution, then sent out for their acceptance or rejection. But their opponents were so much concerned about it, that no less than three different pieces against the Baptist agent were published in the Boston papers in

in the month of May, to two of which the writers subscribed their names, which had not been done before. One of them was as follows : The first part of the third article in our bill of rights says, " The happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality, and these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion and morality ;" which part said agent, in his publication of December 2, declared a full concurrence with. Upon which a minister of Roxbury, in the Chronicle of May 18, said, " Mr. Backus, by inadvertently *concurring fully* with this part, gave up the whole cause for which he was agent." This he endeavoured to prove, by fixing an emphasis upon the word *essentially*, and then observing that government *can exist* without Christianity. And his evident design was to sink the credit of the agent among his brethren, in order to terminate this controversy. But the agent answered all those three publications in one paper, June 26, when he observed, that " No government could ever be established without appeals to the Deity ; the knowledge of whom is as much greater under the gospel than it is in Pagan countries, as *seeing* in day-light is above *feeling* in the night, Mat. v. 14, Acts xvii. 27. And men can have no more RIGHT to *add* to God's laws about his worship, and to judge the consciences of such as refuse to submit to their *additions*, than they have POWER to cause the *day-spring* to know his place, Job xxxviii. 12, Luke i. 78. And is not gospel light essentially necessary for the *good order* of government, although government *can exist* without it !" And notwithstanding their third article expressly ex-
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cludes all subordination of one religious sect to another, yet he observed, that since it was passed, four Baptist brethren had been imprisoned, and a fifth had a cow taken from him, for no other cause than a refusal to acknowledge such subordination. Two of them were of Bridgwater, the others were of Lancaster. Those of Bridgwater were threatened this month with imprisonment for another ministerial tax; but it was prevented in the following manner. One of them was lieutenant of a company of militia; and, as the public credit was sunk so low as to render it exceeding difficult to raise recruits for our army, news came to him that the town had chosen him a member of a special committee to procure a number of men that were wanted, which news came just after the collector had threatened to carry him to gaol for said tax, and prevented it. But a third Baptist from Lancaster was imprisoned at Worcester, June 26, where two of his brethren had been from April 12, and they were confined there until fall.

VI. YET when the new constitution took place, October 25, 1780, it was said, "We may rely that the present government will do all it fairly can, by authority and example, to answer the end of its institution, that the members of this Commonwealth may *lead a quiet and peaceable life in all* GODLINESS as well as *honesty*, and our liberty never be justly reproached as licentiousness. I know there is diversity of sentiment respecting the extent of civil power in religious matters. Instead of entering into the dispute, may I be allowed from the warmth of my heart to recommend, where conscience is pleaded on both sides, mutual candour and love*." And in the Boston Gazette of February 5, 1781, it was said,

* Cooper's sermon, p. 37, 38.

said, "Last summer, a certain rich man, in the county of Plymouth, altered his principles with regard to baptism, was re-baptized, and admitted into Mr. Backus's church in Middleborough. Some neighbours were so uncharitable and censorious as to imagine that this person changed his religion in order to be freed from ministerial taxes.—However it remained a question in the minds of many people, by what means his estate could be exempted legally? inasmuch as they verily supposed that Mr. Backus had declared he would give no more certificates to any body whatsoever, always pleading, as they received it, that the practice was contrary to the dictates of his conscience. Nevertheless, contrary to the expectation of every one, our assessors have been furnished with a certificate.—I hope the public will put the most favourable construction upon the late remarkable conduct of our agent for a thousand souls; that his laudable example will be punctually imitated by all others of the same profession, and thereby finish one part of the tedious dispute which has long subsisted." This paper was left for him three days after, by a noted lawyer, at a house he was to preach at in Bridgwater. From thence he went into Boston, and demanded the name of the writer of that libel. This was refused by the printer, though he was ready to publish an answer to it: An answer was therefore left, upon an express promise from the printer, that he would not publish a reply without the writer's name. Yet this promise was violated on March 5, without so much as sending the reply to the agent. He was however so unwise as to send another piece, which was published May 7, wherein some expressions were so turned, as to cast the printer's faults upon the public. From hence three or four reviling

ing pieces were published in the Boston papers against him; in one of which he was threatened with a halter and the gallows. Yet for all this noise, they had no other foundation than a line that was given July 12, 1780, which certified that a man in Pembroke was a baptized member of the first Baptist church in Middleborough, signed only by their pastor, at a time when no certificate law had been in force for some months, and never could be again, according to said third article, which excludes all subordination of any one sect to another. And the line given did not answer to any law ever made in this government, from its foundation to this day. It may therefore be proper in this place to give a distinct account of what the faith and order of these Baptist churches are, against whom such opposition has been made.

VII. In general their faith and practice come the nearest to that of the first planters of New-England, of any churches now in the land, excepting in the single article of sprinkling infants. In particular they believe, 1. That God set Adam as the public head of all mankind; so that when he revolted from heaven, and seized upon the earth as his own, all the human race fell in him, and all bear his earthly image, until they are born again. 2. That in infinite mercy the eternal Father gave a certain number of the children of men to his beloved Son, before the world was, to redeem and save; and that he, by his obedience and sufferings, has procured eternal redemption for them. 3. That by the influence of the holy Spirit, each of these persons, as they come into existence, are effectually called in time, and savingly renewed in the spirit of their minds. 4. That their justification before God, is wholly by the perfect righteousness

righteousness of Jesus Christ, received by faith.
 5. That every such soul will be kept by the power of God, through faith unto eternal salvation.
 6. That, according to God's institution, regenerate souls are the only materials for particular Christian churches. 7. That the right way of building such churches is by giving a personal verbal account to the church of what God has done for their souls, to the satisfaction of the church. 8. That the whole power of calling, ordaining and deposing officers, is in each particular church; although it is ordinarily proper and expedient to call in the advice and assistance of sister churches upon many such occasions. 9. That the whole power of governing and disciplining their members is in each particular church; though advice and counsel from others, in some cases, is becoming and even necessary. 10. That the government of the church should be wholly by the laws of Christ, enforced in his name, and not at all by the secular arm. 11. That gospel ministers ought be supported by his laws and influence, and not by tax and compulsion enforced by the civil power. 12. That ministers ought to preach, and not read their sermons, at least in ordinary times; that being evidently the apostolic practice, and the contrary enables men to impose upon people, by reading the works of others, and is attended with other evils. 13. That free liberty ought to be allowed for every saint to improve his gifts according to the gospel; and that the church should encourage and recommend such as are qualified for the gospel ministry. 14. That officers, when chosen and ordained, have no arbitrary, lordly or imposing power; but are to rule and minister with the consent of the brethren, who ought not to be called the *laity*, but to be treated
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ed as men and brethren in Christ. These are the chief points of faith and order, wherein we differ from others, and for which such resentment has been shewn against us. And in this and the former volume of our history we have clearly proved, that all these points were held by the fathers of Plymouth Colony. And Governor Winslow, one of their first planters, informs us that when they parted with Mr. Robinson, their dear pastor in Holland, in 1620, he gave them the following advice and solemn charge, viz.

VIII. "WE are now to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever I shall live to see your faces again: But whether he has appointed it or not, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, to follow me no further than I follow Christ. And if God shall reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am very confident that he has more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the reformed churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their reformation. As for example, the Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's will he has further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them; a misery much to be lamented, for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now living, they would be as ready to embrace further light as what they had received. Here (says Winslow) he put us in mind of our church

church covenant, whereby we promise and covenant with God, and one another, to receive whatsoever light and truth shall be made known to us from his written word; but withal exhorted us to take heed what we receive for truth, and well to examine and compare it with other scriptures before we received it; for, said he, it is not possible, the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once*." Such were the noble sentiments and solemn charge of Mr. Robinson, that eminent father of the planters of New-England. To which I shall annex a caution he gave, in his preface to a defence of their cause ten years before. Says he, "I desire the Christian reader to take knowledge of this one thing, that as the pretence of zeal in forward ministers against all corruptions is a thick mist, holding the eyes of many well-minded people from seeing the truth, so the person with whom I now particularly deal trusts to this insinuation above all others, conveying himself under this colour into the hearts of the simple, and hereby making way most effectually not only for his counsels and advertisements, for the quenching of their affections towards the truth, but also for his idle guesses and *likelihoods* (vol. 1, p. 7) with such *personal* comparisons and imputations as his book is stored with, to alienate mens hearts from it. But the godly reader is to consider that to *accept persons in judgment is not good*, especially in the Lord's cause; and that his faith is not to be held *in respect of persons*, James ii. 1†." Let this be remembered in our next chapter.

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* Winflow's answer to Gorton, p. 97, 98.

† Preface to his answer to Bernard, p. 5, 6.

C H A P. XIX.

1. Mayhew against the Doctrines of sovereign Grace.
2. Yet very angry at having his Conduct exposed.
3. Others treated abusively.
4. Of the Charge of Separation.
5. Of Baptism.
6. Of Ministers Power.
7. Of universal Salvation.

I. **D**R. Mayhew published two sermons, in the beginning of 1763, from those words, *The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.* From whence, after laying down many just observations, he endeavours to prove, that the Lord is good to all the different ranks, orders or species of his intelligent and sensitive creatures; and good and kind to *all* the *individuals* of which these species consist. He allows that the terms *all*, *every*, and the like, are sometimes used in a limited sense in scripture, and that there are many places which must necessarily be so understood; but denies any limitation here, because God's goodness is perfect and infinite, as well as his other perfections. And beginning with a greater number, and coming down to a lesser, he at last comes to the lowest individual; and if any held that he was not good to that individual, Mayhew says, "I think you should paraphrase the text thus, the Lord is good to all *but one*, and his tender mercies are over all his works, *excepting a single* insignificant creature, which either escapes his notice, or at which he is angry, and

and so makes it miserable, though it neither has nor is capable of offending him." And he goes on to observe, that John says, *God is LOVE*; and then says, "It is worthy of particular remark, that though God is infinitely wise and powerful, &c. as well as good, yet he is never stiled in scripture *wisdom* or *power* in the abstract, as he is here stiled *LOVE*. Perfect goodness, love itself, is his very essence, in a peculiar sense; immeasurable, immutable, universal and everlasting *LOVE**." Again says he, "Nothing was prior, not even the existence of God, to his *will* to be good.—God is then not only eternally, *necessarily* and essentially, but infinitely or perfectly good. And if so, then equally, universally, and immutably good in all times and places." Necessity therefore he ascribes to the will of God, though his party strenuously deny that it can be consistent with the liberty of our wills. And he had before asserted, "That there is no medium betwixt God's being actually kind and merciful to all, and his being positively cruel and unmerciful to some†." And to give his ideas of the atonement, he says, "Infinite goodness itself, considered in connexion with infinite wisdom, requires that order, and the highest veneration for the majesty of God, his laws and government, should be preserved amongst all his reasonable creatures. Their own good essentially depends upon it. And this important end is *most effectually* attained by the sacrifice of Christ, by whom *we have received the atonement*. We are assured in the holy scriptures, that God forgives the sins of men through this great sacrifice intervening, *rather* than without any, not because he is in his own nature deficient in goodness, or not perfectly merciful, but because he is infinitely *wise* as well

* Said sermons, p. 39, 44. † Page 35, 46.

as merciful.—There was a fitness and congruity in it, as the wisest and best method for saving sinful men, without any kind of reference to that common but yet *strange* supposition, of divine *justice* being entirely distinct from divine goodness*.” It is to be noted, that here he owns that he rejects the *common* sentiments of our fathers; and says he, “I seriously declare, that if I were to form my conceptions of God’s moral character, by such discourses as I have sometimes heard and read, and such as were, *by many*, thought to be truly *evangelical*, instead of thinking him really good to ALL, and his tender mercies over ALL his works, essentially good, and infinitely the best of beings, I could not but conclude him to be *infinitely* more *unjust* and *cruel* than any other being in the universe!” And he at length ventures to say of infants, “To suppose that the sin of Adam and Eve is or can be so imputed to them, as to render them *justly* liable to eternal misery, without any offence of their own, is one of the grossest of all absurdities.” And to hold that any of the human race are not chosen in Christ to eternal life, is a doctrine which he rejects in the same manner; after which he says, “If, therefore, my brethren, you know of any particular scheme or system of Christianity (so called) two or three of the most distinguishing and leading principles of which, and the basis on which the whole rests, are plainly and certainly repugnant to the doctrine of God’s *universal* goodness, and his tender mercies over all his works; you may be certain that such scheme or system is false; absolutely and wholly false, so far as it has any connexion with or dependence upon those principles†.” He allows that there will be a future punishment to the wicked, but leaves the words

* Page 64.

† Page 50, 62, 63, 83, 85.

words concerning it undefined; and concludes with mentioning, that in the other world the meaning of that passage in the Revelation will be more clearly opened than we can conceive of it here, that “*Every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, blessing, and honor, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever.*”

II. THE reader may now judge, whether this author had not a design against some of the most important principles of the Protestant reformed system of Christianity, as it had long been professed in this and other countries. Yet because Mr. Cleaveland represented his sermons in that light, in his essay to defend that system, Dr. Mayhew called it “*A defamatory libel;*” and said to Cleaveland, “*Can you possibly think it became you, an obscure person from another Province, and one so unlettered as you are, an out-cast from the college to which you was a disgrace?—Did you not show the utmost assurance, in thus setting up your little self?—Poor, unhappy man! You doubtless thought to emerge from your obscurity, and to appear as a person of some consequence, by this vain attempt.—It is as much beneath me to play the critic on such a performance as yours, as it would be particularly to expose the vanity of your criticisms on my sermons.—But I will proceed to the main business of this letter, which is to set your falshood and iniquitous proceedings, with reference to my sermons, in some order before your eyes; and to administer the reproof and correction which you deserve, or rather a part thereof. For it is only they that hold the sword of public justice, that can legally punish such wickedness to the extent of its demerits. Your villainy in this* affair

affair appears written, as one may say, even upon your forehead*.” And his whole letter of forty-nine pages is in this strain; which instead of universal goodness, discovers how such men would treat their opponents, if their power was equal to their wills. A sight of these things moved the President and Corporation of the college, who expelled Cleaveland, to give him the title of A. M. the same year. Yet when Mayhew died two years after, Chauncy reflected upon Cleaveland (as before observed, p. 229) and called him an obscure person without reputation. And to this day the persons of those two men are held in such admiration by multitudes, that they are much sooner disturbed at hearing their errors exposed, than at hearing their MAKER blasphemed! while they are highly pleased with seeing eminent ministers of opposite principles treated with a high degree of abuse and contempt, as appears in what follows.

III. ALL establishments of worship by human laws, that ever were erected under the Christian name, were built upon calling the covenant in Gen. xvii. the covenant of grace. Yet our excellent Edwards was separated from his dear flock at Northampton, only for insisting upon a personal profession of sanctifying grace in order for full communion. (Page 191.) From thence he went and settled at Stockbridge, on the west borders of our State; where his successors have endeavoured to pursue his plan of reformation. A considerable number of ministers, in various parts of the land, have also laboured in the same cause. About the close of 1768, Dr. Joseph Bellamy published a small piece upon the half-way covenant; which was soon answered, and he wrote not less than six pamphlets upon

* Mayhew's letter of reproof, 1764, p. 4—6.

upon the covenant, to prove that a profession of saving faith was a necessary term of communion in the church, and of being active in baptism. The piece on the opposite side, mentioned in p. 268, was occasioned hereby. And within six years above twenty pamphlets were written by different parties upon this subject, through the country from New-Jersey to Boston. The name of a half-way covenant was disowned by all these writers, and their controversy turned entirely upon the question, whether a profession of saving faith ought to be required of communicants, or not? For both parties agreed that none should be active themselves in baptism, but such as had a right to come to the other ordinance; and they were as unable to settle this matter as Stoddard and Mather were seventy years before. (Page 33, 34.) How to reconcile divine sovereignty with human liberty, and efficacious grace with the use of means for conversion, were also questions that they had long and tedious debates upon. At length a singular act of discipline at Stockbridge seemed to give the other party an occasion, and it was eagerly improved, to give them as bad a *thrust with their horns*, as ever was given by any bulls in Basban. It was as follows. Those who have seen the nature of original sin, cannot tell how to keep up the idea of childrens being born in the covenant of grace, without some regard to grace in their parents. And in the same chapter where the unbelieving consort is said to be *sanctified* by the believer, a widow is required to marry *only in the Lord*. Therefore, because a young widow in Stockbridge church married an immoral profane man, in the beginning of 1777, she was censured and excluded from their communion. This occasioned the calling of a Council in January,

ry, 1779, which was adjourned to May, and from thence to October, when they justified the church in that act. The man who married said widow was from Connecticut; and he got a learned minister from thence to plead his cause in the last of those Councils, who was son to the ruler that sent a man to prison forty years ago, for preaching the gospel. (Page 165.) As his client was not relieved by that Council, he published his plea for him, which has passed through three or four editions. It was answered from Stockbridge, upon which he published a larger piece in 1780, intituled, Letters of friendship; which being replied to, he in 1781 gave what he called a gentle reprimand. And in 1782 these three pieces were printed in one at Boston. Their evident design was to relieve that woman, to prevent division among their ministers, and to keep up the use of force for their support; all which it is said are accomplished thereby. Be that as it may, it is certain that much deceit and cruelty have been used in this affair. Many would limit the word persecution to corporal punishments; which is so opposite to truth, that *reviling* and *mockery* contain a great and *cruel* part of it, Mat. v. 11, Heb. xi. 36. Colonel Gardiner, who was converted sixty-five years ago, declared that "He would much rather have marched up to a battery of the enemy's cannon, than have been obliged so continually as he was to face such artillery as this*." Yet in order to carry his point, this advocate advanced a parable of a church who refused to allow a brother therein to marry a woman he dearly loved, because not a gracious person; and advised him to marry a member of theirs that was sound in the faith, which is most shockingly described; and then saying of her person,

* Gardiner's life, p. 35.

person, "As to some trifles, which a carnal man would object to, it becomes you, as a spiritual man, to make no objection. It is true, she is of a mean family, and a very weak understanding; she is peevish and fretful to the highest degree; her shape is semicircular; she is what the world calls monstrous ugly; every feature is adapted to mortify carnal desires, which is much better than to have them gratified; she is the queen of sluts, and without any polite education. But she has grace; SAVING GRACE; she is regenerated; let your grace wed with hers, and a *sweet bride* she will be. Moreover, *she is past the flower of her age*, and we suppose *need so requires**." Now is it possible to dress up a church and scripture phrases in a more odious and scandalous manner than is here done! Yet in his reprimand, which he calls gentle, he insinuates that for any to be offended at it argues guilt; because, says he, "It was expressly declared that it is to be applied only as *truth* applies it." But when we look into his plea, we find him saying, "Let the following parable apply where it *will* apply†." Truth cannot apply it to any church upon earth; but his *will* has published the names of thirteen ministers in that plea, more worthy than himself, for the world to laugh at as much as they *will*. And this is doubtless the chief reason of its circulating so extensively. But how mean and spiteful is it to treat the word grace in this manner! Affixing the word to the covenant of circumcision, where God never put it, is the source of that difficulty at Stockbridge. The words *sanctified* and *holy*, in 1 Cor. vii. 14, are both of a kind, and the latter the effect of the former; and their meaning may be ascertained by 1 Tim. iv. 5. But if we must go to the law for the mean-

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* Plea, p. 29.

† Plea, p. 27; Reprimand, p. 15.

ing of the word holy there, the same word in the law is given as the reason why they should not marry with unholy persons, Deut. vii. 3, 6. Every soul therefore will be self-condemned that affixes the name grace to the covenant of circumcision, and at the same time censures the church at Stockbridge for attempting to act consistently upon it.

IV. His second pamphlet is directed to ministers who had essayed to withdraw from the major party in the country; to whom he applies the apostolic warning, *beware of dogs, beware of the concision*: Which warning was levelled against those who held to the covenant of circumcision after it was out of date, and could not bear to quit all *confidence in the flesh*, Phil. iii. 2, 3. The General Association of ministers in Connecticut, June 3, 1780, stated the nature of those ministers crime in these words, viz. "Refusing intercourse of ministerial labours, and to receive our members, on recommendation from the pastors and churches to which they belonged, to their communion, without a particular and personal examination*." But in the Boston edition this passage is left out; and some ministers are accused of renouncing communion with others, in consequence of that affair at Stockbridge. Such deceit are men guilty of! And it is asserted, that "The churches in New-England are generally *full as strict* in their practice, as the church at Stockbridge, and require *full* as much religion in the profession, life, and conversation of the candidate." And the minister of Lebanon (mentioned in p. 191) is referred to as an example thereof†. Yet he was a man who held tenaciously that the field where saints and the visible children of the wicked one are ordered to *grow together*, intends the visible church; which an excellent

* Letters of friendship, p. 133.

† Ibid. 62, 115.

excellent writer says gave others occasion to reflect, "That those churches whose practice is agreeable to his loose principles, do that at noon-day, in the presence of God, angels and men, which the devil did in the night, while men slept*!" It is also to be observed, that a member of the church in Stockbridge detected said advocate in several violations of truth, as to matters of fact there. But instead of any honest retraction, he said of that member, "Where he is known, he can perhaps hurt no man's character, either with his tongue or pen; and it is a question whether, at this period of time, he can hurt his own." And again, "He has exerted himself with all his might, to suppress the gospel ministry in this land, labouring among other efforts to remove the *only* probable means for the support of it†." That is, the man he points to, being of the Convention who formed our new constitution, laboured to exclude the use of violence from it in supporting religious teachers. And his character was such as to be freely chosen one of the Massachusetts Senators in May, 1781. How then did his opponent *despise government*?

V. MR. Locke long since observed, that learned disputants often act as deceitfully about the main *words* of their controversy as a trader would do if he took the figure 8, and called it sometimes seven and sometimes nine, as would suit his advantage. And how much was that the case in this dispute! The most puzzling argument of the advocate for the profane man, was declaring that by baptism he was in the church, and ought to have been disciplined, rather than his wife for marrying of him. And in 1783 the same author published an address to the Baptists,

* Edwards's reply to Williams, p. 103.

† Letters of friendship, p. 128. Reprimand, p. 13.

Baptists, wherein he represents the covenant of circumcision to be such an ample charter of church privileges, that it would even have been an impeachment of the sacred character, or reflexion upon the perfections of God, to expect an express description of who were the subjects of baptism in the new testament. Now it is certain that every man in Israel who should *forbear* to keep the pass-over as it was instituted, must be *cut off from his people*, Numb. ix. 13. And if the covenant is the same now, every person among their churches who has been sprinkled in infancy must come to the ordinance of the supper, or be excommunicated, be he converted or unconverted, moral or profane. Yet the abovesaid pleader has the effrontery to say to his opponents, “ You tell us, gentlemen, that some of us do not agree with you, in our notions of the terms of church communion, or admission of church members.—But—no mortal knows, or can know, who has grace or who has not.—Let us speculate and dispute as long as we please, we must practise alike, or we cannot practise at all*.” But if many are in darkness, and know not where they are going, does that prove that others have no true light? And if they love darkness rather than light, can their evils make void the word of Christ? who says, *he that doth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God*; and also says, *every tree is known by his own fruit*:——*A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure of his heart, bringeth forth that which is evil; for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.* And the way wherein greedy dogs are to be known, who can never have enough, is that *they*

* Letters of friendship, p. 20.

they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter. They bite with their teeth, and cry, peace; and he that putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him.—Yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, is not the Lord among us? None evil can come upon us. This is their learning, their logic; from a negative proposition they form a positive conclusion. They are in covenant with death, and agreement with hell, and from thence think to secure themselves; and they scornfully slight all warnings of future danger. But the time is hastening when their *bed* will be too short for them, and their *covering* too narrow; and it will be a vexation only to understand the report of the gospel, *Isai.* xxviii. 14—20. *Rom.* x. 16. Union and communion with God, who is LIGHT and LOVE, was the life of man at first; and a revolt from him, into *darkness and disorder*, was *death*, the penalty of the law. And the character of hell is *lying* and *murder*, *John* viii. 44. Therefore I conclude, that the known use of *deceit* and *cruelty* is the covenant with death and agreement with hell, wherewith scornful officers have often thought to secure themselves against present and future dangers. This I take to be a scriptural glass, and return our opponents compliment upon it. Says he, “Why do the letters of friendship offend them, since it is so expressly premised that no person is pointed at in them unless justly characterized? If my face is dirty and not fit to be seen, I wash it, and never quarrel with my glass about it*.” And since his zeal has been so great for the relief of one censured woman, let him appear for another nearer home. For a woman of good character, in the head county of his own State, was censured in 1781, and excommunicated

* Reprimand, p. 15.

cated in 1783, by a minister who is a fellow of Yale college, for no other crime than refraining from coming to the Lord's table with such as hold the Lord's supper to be a converting ordinance.

VI. THIS may lead us to take a further view of their claims of power over the churches. About twenty years ago, a minister who was a fellow of Yale college published a pamphlet to prove that the power of ordination is inherent in ministers, and that Christ never gave that power to the church as a body. This he dedicated to their Governor; and he therein allowed that the people have a right to choose their ministers, but not to ordain them, any more than the freemen of Connecticut have to swear their magistrates into office. An answer was wrote to him, and he made a reply in 1766. But then both his patron and his comparison failed him, because his Governor and several magistrates were left out of office by the people, for favouring the stamp-act. And what could he then do? He slipt over the line, and said, "The Governor of a Province is, by the King's commission, invested with power and authority as such an officer, distinct from the rights, powers and privileges, belonging to the government, by the constitution, charter, and laws of the land. And though the magistracy, and other officers, and the House of Representatives, have a legislative and executive authority with him, under his precedency, and act with him in judgment, in many cases; yet are these distinct branches of authority, originating from different fountains of power: The former from special commission from the King, the other from the constitution and laws of the government. I take the case to be *much parallel* in ecclesiastical govern-

government*.” And we have shewn (p. 275) that the Massachusetts ministers claimed a higher power than the King allowed to his Governor; and he was the head of their establishments for worship, both there and in Connecticut. (Page 78, 178.) Therefore they are now in a deplorable case; for an ocean three thousand miles wide rolls betwixt the head and the body of that constitution, so that they have only a dead polluted *carcase* left in *their high places*, Ezek. xliii. 7. And those who have so often rejected the reasonable testimonies and petitions of the Baptists, are forced now to become suplicants to them, in order to save their polluted scheme. In a Boston paper, before mentioned, of February 5, 1781, they tell a story of a gentleman’s babe, that was taken by an ape and carried to the roof of the house, while he and his family were at church, and a careless maid got to sleep; and yet that the babe was saved by their prayers. Upon which they name the Baptist agent, whom they accuse of doing the like with their religion; but expressed their hopes of having it now returned into its former condition. But herein they appear more contemptible than the priests of Baal did in Elijah’s time; for they came out like men, and performed their devotion in the sight of the people, while these only published their prayers in news-papers, and were afraid that their names should be known. And the babe they pray for is not a human creature, but a monster, begotten upon a whore; and great *happiness* is promised to those who shall *dash such little ones against the stones*, Psalm cxxxvii. 8, 9. And the Baptists not only covet such happiness, but obedience to government requires it of them. For all Protestant kingdoms have set up their King as head of the

* Beckwith’s second letter against lay-ordinations, p. 42, 43.

the church; but that name is now excluded from our Legislature. And to move the people to receive this constitution, the compilers of it said to them, "Your delegates did not conceive themselves vested with power to set up one denomination of Christians above another; for religion must at all times be a matter between God and individuals*." And no man can take a seat in our Legislature until he solemnly declares, "I believe the Christian religion, and have a firm persuasion of its truth†." And as surely as it is true, Christ is HEAD of all principality and power, and the church is COMPLETE in him; and required to do all her acts in his name. Therefore all worship that is supported in any other name is only *will-worship*, Col. ii. 9, 10, 23, iii. 17. And though recourse has often been had to Germany, for matter to prejudice people against equal liberty and believers baptism, yet twenty thousand mercenaries have lately been brought from thence to fight against such principles, and to deluge our land with blood; against whom no denomination in America have acted with more prudence and vigour than the Baptists. In the fall of 1778, our Legislature passed an act to debar inimical persons from returning into this State, wherein three hundred and eleven men were named as such; and our enemies are welcome to point out one Baptist among them if they can. Yet our opponents are still so unwilling to allow equal liberty, and that the power of church government should be in the body of each community, that a pamphlet was published at Boston against it, near the close of 1783, wherein it is said, "If the power of dismissing its pastors is determined to be lodged in the church,

* Address before the constitution, March 2, 1780, p. 17.

† Constitution, chap. vi.

church, without the intervention of any indifferent persons, the clergy of New-England are of all men the most miserable ¶!" This author was an active member of the Convention who formed our new constitution; but they are now ensnared in the work of their own hands; and to move others to relieve them he says, "The world produces not a set of ministers more holy in their lives, more free from immorality of every kind, more pure in their doctrines, or more ingenious, animated and pathetic in their addresses, than the clergy of New-England.— The observation hath often been made, that it is natural to the clergy to be fond of power. Without dispute they are so, for they are men, and subject to the same feelings and inclinations with others. But in New-England, let them have felt ever so much of this inclination, they have not discovered it. Where is the man who can point out the instance, where the ministry have attempted to encroach upon the rights of the churches §?" Such attempts have been so openly discovered, that at present I shall only point the reader to his now doing of it, in the name clergy he so often assumes. It is derived from the word that is translated *heritage*, in 1 Pet. v. 3, which name has long been usurped by ministers, in order to avoid the scandal of *lording* it over the church. And the following facts may discover his vanity in boasting of their general purity as to doctrine.

VII. ALL Mayhew's arguments against the doctrines of sovereign grace, pointed directly to universal salvation, though the minds of the people were not then prepared to receive it. But an artful teacher from Britain, who by the way of New-York came into New-England in 1772, by deceit-

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¶ Thatcher's observations, p. 11. § Ibid. p. 5.

ful addresses to the passions of its inhabitants, and procuring an edition of Rely upon Union at Boston in 1779, and another at Providence in 1782, prepared the way for the ministers of the county to discover themselves. And in August, 1782, a pamphlet was published in Boston, which soon passed a second edition, entituled, *Salvation for all men*. Dr. Chauncy, undoubtedly, had a chief hand therein, and most of the ministers in Boston seemed to favour the scheme, and others continue in fellowship with those who have openly owned it. Their main arguments turn upon extending the divine goodness to every individual, and Christ's merits also; although they do not attempt to tell how long it will be before all come to enjoy the same. They say, "There will be a great deal to be done, after the second coming of Christ.—Indeed (say they) the doctrine of PURGATORY, as now taught by the Papists, seems to be a corruption of a genuine doctrine held by the ancient fathers, concerning the *fire of hell*, which will *burn up sin and lust**." But we do not hear of any yet who have ventured to assert with Origen, that Christ will be crucified in the next world to save the devils. Several valuable pamphlets have been wrote against these delusions, but those ministers are still held in fellowship. Though Dr. Chauncy himself says, "I am clearly of the mind, that a visibly wicked minister is the greatest scandal to religion, and plague to the church of God; nor is it a hurt, but a real service to the cause of Christ, to expose the characters of such, and lessen their power to do mischief†." And again he says, "The religion of Jesus has suffered more from the exercise of this pretended right [to make religious

* Said pamphlet, p. 14, 21.

† Chauncy's thoughts, 1743, p. 141.

religious establishments] than from all other causes put together; and it is with me past all doubt, that it will never be restored to its primitive purity, simplicity and glory, until religious establishments are so brought down as to be no more*.”

CHAP. XX.

- I. Unjust Conceptions concerning Liberty of Will.
2. The Nature thereof exposed.
3. Bloody Effects of it from afar.
4. And also among ourselves.
5. The ill Effects of it in the Churches.
6. Regeneration the only effectual Remedy against it.
7. Address of the Baptists concerning the Return of Peace.

I. **W**HEN we have conceived an ill opinion of any denomination, it is exceeding difficult to treat them fairly. An instance hereof is before me, that may be proper to mention. Edwards's treatise on the will has passed through one edition at Boston, and two or more in London, without ever being answered, although it is levelled directly against the turning point of Arminianism, to which the opinion of universal salvation naturally succeeds. Many who do not own either of those names, yet have conceived a strong prejudice against Calvinism, which Edwards professed to own, though not

* Reply to Chandler, 1770, p. 144.

not every opinion that Calvin advanced. A late learned performance from London, re-printed at Philadelphia in 1783, contains the following things. The author, when giving his own deliberate ideas, says, "The visible world demonstrates, it was made by an omnipotent power, and is preserved by the same power. What doth not necessarily exist, must be originally created, and continually upheld by the power that made it.—There is no medium betwixt self-existence and dependence on its cause; therefore a cessation from it of the power that made it is annihilation to it. Thus as all created things were made, and still subsist solely by the energy of the Creator's *will* and power, he must necessarily, whilst they exist, be omnipresent with them, in them, and through them; therefore cannot be ignorant of any thing relating to them, nor unconcerned about them, or any part of them*." If so, then the creature can do no act but what his Creator sees cause either to order or permit, which is the essence of Calvinism. No, says this author, "We attribute the whole of man's salvation to the light or grace within, first and last, without at all placing man's destruction to the account of his Maker, which John Calvin directly doth." And after attempts to prove this charge from ancient writings, he tries to confirm it from Edwards on the will. And in reference to his main point, he says, "We are told, *the will is always determined by the strongest motive*. Has the will no liberty then at any time? Is it always so *forcibly* determined, in all its motions, by circumstances and motives successively arising upon it, from the original constitution of things, that every man is necessarily obliged to think, speak and act, just as he doth?—Was this

* Phipps against Newton, p. 37, 38.

this really the case, our *inevitable* acts would certainly render us no proper subjects of reward and punishment; of come, ye blessed, or go, ye cursed. We must be equally untitled to approbation and censure*." But I must tell him and all his friends, that I am much better acquainted with Edwards's writings than they are, and I absolutely know that the ideas naturally arising from the words *forcibly* and *inevitable*, as here used, when charged upon Edwards, are entirely unjust and abusive. And it tends to raise an evil temper in those who read the same, against all the friends of Edwards's writings, of whom I am heartily one. I am certain that the author who has thus censured him, is not a greater friend to the full liberty of the human will, and against every idea of positive influence from God to restrain men from good, or to impel them to evil, than Edwards was. And I know that from my inmost thoughts I abhor and detest every thing of that nature, and challenge all the sons of men to prove the contrary if they can. Whether said author will like the following description of liberty is uncertain. In a Boston paper of June 21, 1784, we are informed, that a new book of Dr. Chauncy's is now in the press, which gives a view of man, "As an *intelligent moral agent*; having within himself an *ability* and *freedom* to WILL, as well as to *do*, in opposition to NECESSITY from any extraneous cause whatever."

II. THIS perfectly agrees with that disregard to God, and to equal liberty among the common people, which has lately been so conspicuous in that metropolis. Perhaps a text could not be found more suitable to have preached upon, at the commencement of our new constitution, than the following:

* Ibid. p. 86, 97, 98.

lowing: "Their children also shall be as aforetime, and *their congregation shall be established before me,* and I will punish all that oppress them. *And their nobles shall be of themselves, and their Governor shall proceed from the midst of them,* and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me; for who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me? saith the Lord." Jer. xxx. 20, 21. But a noted minister of Boston took out the words here printed in *Italic*, and not the rest, for the subject of his sermon at that time; in which he told of conscience being pleaded on both sides of the question about religious liberty. And the two sides are exactly these. The Baptists pleaded that Christ's ministers might be supported only by his laws and influence: Their opponents pleaded still to be called by his name, but that they could not in conscience give up the use of secular force to support them. The Baptists never asked for any greater liberty in this respect in the country than Boston has long enjoyed: Their opponents plead conscience for denying it to them, which doubtless is supposing that *gain is godliness*, and from such we are commanded to withdraw. The minister of Chelsea, who in 1778 defied our Legislature to preserve order in the State, if they allowed equal liberty in the church, was received a member of that Assembly in 1783, to tax others, while he pays none himself. But who can wonder at their treating the people thus, since their treatment of their Maker is so flagrant! Claim his promises without regarding his precepts, which is the practice the *tempter* would have drawn our Saviour into, Mat. iv. 6, 7. But greater absurdity and blasphemy can scarcely be conceived of, than to claim God's promises to support us in disobedience to his precepts, and to deny his right to govern

govern our wills, further than we please. His authority and commands are certainly a cause *without us*; but we have already seen that the above writer thought them *too severe* even for Adam in innocence, and that *grace* gives an exemption from that severity. (Page 229, 230.) But I have seen a record concerning one, who was as zealous for *confidence in the flesh* as these late disputants are, and had as fair a claim to it as any of them, who at length was made to know that said law was *holy, just, and good*; that it was *scriptural*, but he a *carnal slave to sin*, instead of having such high dignity and liberty as he before imagined he had. And NECESSITY brought him most *freely* to preach the faith that he before endeavoured to destroy, 1 Cor. ix. 16. Gal. i. 16, 23. And any person in the world can as soon cease to exist, as cease to desire happiness, and to escape misery. A false imagination of *good* in the forbidden fruit, drew our first parents into rebellion against God; and such imaginations are the only source of sin in all their children, James i. 14, 15. *Good* is still their pursuit, but they have lost the knowledge of who can give it, or what it is; but the regenerate soul knows both, and this is the precise difference between them, Psalm iv. 6, 7. Who does not know that debtors and criminals are not fit judges in their own causes? yet that is the case with all reasoners against the truth and perfection of God's written word. How would wrong judgment proceed in civil Courts, if the Judges or jurors were allowed to construe laws according to a rule *within them*, instead of a fixed known standard! If we believe the word of truth, a most obstinate tyrant, a most hardened wretch, yet *gladly* sent Israel away with rich treasures, the same night which God had told Abraham

Abraham of four hundred and thirty years before. Exod. xii. 33, 40, Psalm cv. 37, 38. Which turn of his will and choice was by a cause *without him*, which brought him to act voluntarily and exactly according to a previous immutable decree, and that without giving any renewing grace to his soul. But as soon as death was out of view, he eagerly pursued Israel into the Red Sea, where he and his army perished. And none but infidels will pretend to deny the justice of God in that destruction, although it was he that exactly disposed all the circumstances which moved Pharaoh voluntarily to act as he did. And the gospel refers to this instance, to shew how, by *much long-suffering, vessels of wrath are fitted to destruction*, according to the sovereign *will of God*. Rom. ix. 17, 18, 22. And those who will not believe him here, will in vain cry for mercy hereafter. Those who are effectually *drawn* to Christ by *divine teaching*, know that they *could not* have come without it, nor avoid coming most freely with it. John vi. 44, 45. And to hear many *speaking evil of things which they know not; but what they know naturally as brute beasts, and in those things to corrupt themselves: To see them tread down the good pastures, and foul the deep waters, and thrust others with side and shoulder*, serves to confirm believers in the truth of revelation, and in the hope of a speedy deliverance from such *evil beasts*, Jude x. Ezek. xxxiv. 18—25. As the wages of sin is death, God cannot be just in paying the same to infants, but upon his right to constitute Adam as their head to act for them, and dealing with them as sinners in him; for justice cannot pay wages where they are not due. And as Christ came into the world purely to save sinners, infants could have no part in his salvation,

tion, if they were not sinners. That infants may partake of that salvation, even in their mothers womb, is certain, Luke i. 44. And it is as certain, that though the first Adam was a figure of the second in some things, yet that he was not so in others; and in none more plainly than these three, viz. the one brought death, the other life; the one by a judicial sentence of law, the other by a free gift of grace; the one by a single offence ruined the world, the other atoned for *many offences*, and will finally bring forth a much more glorious world than that which Adam destroyed. I conceive that these ideas, both of the resemblance and the difference betwixt the two public heads of mankind, are plainly contained in the fifth of the Romans, and fifteenth of the first to the Corinthians. Yet how many are there who will have it, that Christ died equally for all the human race, and yet that he saves but a part of them, because their wills defeat his good desires and intentions? To these others have succeeded, who assert that he died for every one of them, and will finally bring them all to happiness, though not until many of them have been in hell-flames for thousands of years, to burn up their corruptions. But I boldly declare I would as soon worship the Pagan god of flies, as any imaginary saviour that could possibly be mistaken or disappointed in any of his designs. I fully believe that God's plan of government was and is infinitely perfect. That it is calculated so in infinite wisdom, that all his dispensations shall demonstrate to all intelligent creatures, that all desirable good is to be enjoyed in obedience to his revealed will, and nowhere else; but that disobedience thereto is infinitely hateful and dreadful, how pleasing soever it may appear at first. That he gives sinners opportunity to try their in-

ventions to the utmost extent of them, most plainly warning them of their danger in the mean time; and that examples of their defeat, and of just punishments, inflicted upon the impenitent, will be visible to the blessed, and cause high praises to him *forever and ever*; which words are equally made use of to describe the continuance of his glories, the happiness of the saints, and the misery of the wicked, Rev. v. 13, xiv. 9—11, xix. 3, xx. 10, xxii. 5. And as it was the old serpent that poisoned our first parents, by setting up reason against revelation, especially in calling in question the truth of the penalty of the law, so the same poison is exceeding visible and pernicious among their children at this day.

III. It is most certain that the reformation in the church of England, which took place in the days of Edward the sixth, was produced by preaching the doctrines of original sin, justification by faith in Christ's imputed righteousness, and his sovereign and efficacious grace upon the souls of men, to their eternal salvation. And it is as certain that a departure from these doctrines has been growing upon that church ever since. Taylor against original sin, though he was a dissenter, yet was brought into the east part of Connecticut by an itinerant missionary of the church of England above forty years ago; and it has had an extensive circulation through this country. Many of other denominations were pleased with it, while they tried hard to persuade the world that Whitefield was a dishonest man, and upon evil designs against this country, when he preached the gospel according to the doctrines established by law, both in Old-England and New. (Page 171.) Ten years after, a professor of Harvard college tried to fix that odium upon his character

rafter in the minds of his pupils; and at the same time denied the liberty of gospel ministers to preach in any parish where another was settled, without his licence*. And if facts are fairly examined, will it not be found, that those in our day, who have been most fierce for taxing others where they are not represented, yet are not willing to own that their Maker had a right to constitute Adam as their representative? In 1628 a charter was granted to the Massachusetts from the British Court, which exempted this Colony from all taxes thereto, but only the fifth part of the gold and silver ore that should be found in it; and it gave the Colony the exclusive right to choose their own Governors. But in 1684 these privileges were wrested from them, and their lands were all claimed by the crown, and great tyranny was here exercised for some years, until the King was driven from his throne, and another was placed thereon by compact. He gave us a new charter of many privileges, but reserved a power to tax our trade, and an arbitrary power in the crown to appoint our Governors, and to demand our property for their support. And as those who *turn every one to his own way can never have enough*, the remainder of our charter privileges were taken away in 1774, and fleets and armies were sent to compel this country into an unlimited submission to the *wills* of the British Parliament. And after many terrible frowns of providence upon their unmerciful proceedings, a speech from the British throne of November 2, 1780, said, "The present arduous situation of public affairs is well known; the whole force and faculties of the monarchies of France and Spain are drawn forth, and exerted to the utmost,

to

* Wigglesworth's lectures concerning ministers power, 1754, p. 14—16.

to support the rebellion of my Colonies in North-America, and, without the least provocation or cause of complaint, to attack my dominions; and the undisguised object of this confederacy manifestly is to gratify BOUNDLESS AMBITION, by destroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the POWER of Great-Britain. By the force which the late Parliament put into my hands, and by the blessing of providence on the bravery of my fleets and armies, I have been enabled to withstand the formidable attempts of my enemies, and to frustrate the great expectations they had formed; and the signal successes which have attended the progress of my arms in the Provinces of Georgia and Carolina, gained with so much honor to the conduct and courage of my officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of my troops, which have equalled their highest character in any age, will I trust have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. It is my most earnest desire to see this great end accomplished; but I am confident you will agree with me in opinion, that we can only secure safe and honorable terms of peace by such powerful and respectable preparations, as shall convince our enemies, that WE WILL NOT SUBMIT TO RECEIVE THE LAW FROM ANY POWER WHATSOEVER." Lord Cornwallis was one of his most successful officers in Carolina, who there gave orders, on August 30, 1780, "That every militia man, who had borne arms with us, and afterwards joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged." Yet on December 30 General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, as Commissioners from the King for restoring peace to the Colonies, gave out a declaration from New-York, "That Great-Britain had manifested the sincerity of her affectionate and conciliatory intentions, in removing

moving forever your pretended grounds of discontent, by repealing among other statutes those relating to the duty on tea, and the alterations in the government of Massachusetts-Bay, and exempting forever not only the continental but the insular Colonies from parliamentary taxations;" and so invited all or any of "The Colonies in rebellion" to come in and receive pardon and peace. And before they had got through they said, "The *loyal* are exhorted to persevere in *their* integrity for the preservation of their country, its religion and liberties." And *this* declaration arrived and was published in Boston just before the King's speech, which expressed a resolution not to receive law from any power whatsoever, not even excepting the power of heaven. And how much better were the wills of men in this land?

IV. FOR six months after the war began the general welfare of the country was kept so much in view, that men enough were easily obtained to fill up our army, which was also plentifully supplied with provisions. But a committee from the southward met at the camp in or near Cambridge, in October, 1775, to settle the affairs of the next campaign, who raised the wages of officers, and lowered those of the private soldiers, which directly caused an uneasiness; and a looking to private interest, both in and out of the army, gradually prevailed from that time, until in the fall of 1780 it procured a promise of half-pay to officers during life. And just before the news of peace arrived, this selfishness arose so high in the officers, as to appoint a public meeting in the camp at West-Point in the beginning of March, 1783 (without leave from General Washington, who was there) to consult about either marching in arms to Philadelphia, and compelling the

the Congress to grant their desires, or else drawing off into the wilderness, and leaving the country defenceless to the ravages of the enemy. And though, with a wise and masterly address, General Washington prevented their taking either of those horrid steps, yet none can tell how much influence these contrivances had, to produce a vote in Congress for five years whole-pay, in lieu of the half-pay during life. And though the war was levelled against hereditary claims of power over others, and to secure equity among all the inhabitants, and the articles of union and confederation between these States expressly forbid their granting any titles of nobility, yet in May following those officers presumed to incorporate a society among themselves, to have an hereditary succession, and each a golden medal and blue ribbon, with a large fund of money at command, and power to elect our chief rulers into their society. This discovered their dispositions, whatever alterations may have been made in their society since.

V. THE above proceedings have caused unspeakable difficulties through these States, which have been loudly complained of by multitudes, who still are bewitched with the opinion, that they are born in a like covenant as the seed of Abraham were, which gave them a right to make servants of others who were not in that covenant. Yea, and also with the opinion that civil Legislatures have a right to empower some men to covenant for others with religious teachers, and to compel them to fulfil it. And this practice (which is directly against the law of God even as it was given to the Jews) was at the commencement of our new constitution called GODLINESS, in capitals, while *honesty* was put in small letters. Which things are not mentioned because
I think

I think myself better by nature than others, for I know the contrary. And after renewing grace was granted, I was such a dull scholar in Christ's school, that I was thirty-two years in learning a lesson of only six words, viz. *one Lord, one faith, and one baptism*. It took ten years to get clear of the custom of putting baptism before faith, and near five more to learn not to contradict the same in practice; after which above seventeen trying years rolled over us, before we could refrain from an implicit acknowledgment of more than one Lord in religious affairs. And what noise has been made in the world since, only because we will not give up this lesson, and obey man rather than God! And the chief movers therein, undoubtedly, are men who deny his right to impute Adam's sin to them, or to damn them for not receiving Christ's imputed righteousness for their justification. Neither can any own these doctrines, and be self-consistent, in holding that natural birth or human doings can bring infants into the covenant of grace. If it be of grace, then it cannot be of the birth or works of nature. *That which is born of the flesh is flesh*, says our blessed Lord. Circumcision was a type of his death, and of our being cut off from confidence in the flesh, and ingrafted into him by regeneration. Before his personal coming this sign was, by divine institution, put upon many who had not the thing signified within them; but as Abraham had it, it was a *seal* to him, while it was only a sign or type to many others, Rom. iv. 11, Col. ii. 11, 12. By the covenant with Abraham, none were to be circumcised but such as were born in his house; or bought with his money; in which capacity he was an eminent type of Christ, whose church is constituted of persons purchased with his blood, and re-generated

generated by his spirit. Aaron was also a noted type of him, and his lawful seed a type of regenerate souls, who are the *spiritual house* which is built upon the foundation that is *disallowed of men*. And in vain do any of them try to prove the covenant to be the same now that it was with Abraham, until they can prove that Christ is hereafter to come, and endure another crucifixion. *Mystery Babylon*, which means the mystery of confusion, was erected by *confounding* type and anti-type, church and state, together. For a woman after marriage to refuse to be governed by her husband, and to say, *I will go after my lovers, that gave me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink*, proves her to be a *harlot*. And by this practice the church of Rome became the *mother of harlots, and abomination of the earth*. Kings have committed *fornication with her*; and by her *sorceries* were all nations *deceived*. How much have Protestants been deceived with these abominations! To set up any mere man as head of the church, is an imitation of those who crucified our blessed Lord, by holding to an *earthly kingdom of the Messiah*. The taking away of the property of the people *by force*, for the priests in the church of Israel, brought amazing vengeance upon those who gave countenance to that practice; yet the like iniquity has been tenaciously held fast, by men who call themselves ministers of the gospel; and *forcing* away the property of the Baptist for such, has been done in various parts of this country, even down into this year 1784; and much clamour is made against them, only for refusing to give any countenance to such wickedness. But the call from heaven to all the saints is, *come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her*

sins

sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities, Rev. xvii. 5, xviii. 3, 4, 5, 23.

VI. LATE reasonings have set the creature man so high, as to deny that a cause without him can determine his choice; while they hold that God's choice must be determined by what he sees in the creature, and not in himself. But the only seed that can produce the new birth gives such a turn to the mind, as to view all flesh but as fading grass, and the inhabitants of the world but as grasshoppers before God. Yea, as a drop of the bucket, and small dust of the balance. And to set the contrast in its full light, it is declared that *all nations before him are as nothing, and they are counted to him less than nothing and vanity.* This is the *incorruptible seed*, of which souls are *born again*, Isai. xl. 6—17, 1 Pet. i. 23, 24. In our natural darkness we imagine that our obligation to serve God and to come to Christ depends upon our will and pleasure; and that when we get ready to set about the work in earnest, his goodness and mercy will necessarily bring him to appear for our help, and to pardon and save us. Whereas in truth it is as much impossible for any rational person ever to be exempt, for one moment, from obligation to love God with all his powers, and to love his neighbours as himself, as it is for him to escape out of God's presence, or to put an end to his own existence. When Christ came and laid down his life for us, he gave the fullest demonstration of the truth and love of God (as it was previously revealed in predictions and figures) and greatly enhanced our obligation to love and obey him; and also clearly opened the way for our doing it, in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter. The oldness of the letter lays every sin and defect as a bar in the way of approach to a holy God; but

the newness of the spirit, while it cuts us off from any confidence in the flesh, makes all our sins and wants powerful arguments for our daily coming to the throne of grace for supplies. Though Adam in innocency could have no idea of a mediator, or of pardon and cleansing from sin; yet his obligation to the God of truth made it his indispensable duty to believe and obey him, in all his revealed will, and highly criminal to call the same in question. And unbelief still remains unspeakably criminal in his posterity; for their natural powers of thinking and choice are not lost. Therefore the more unable we are to love God with all our powers, and to believe and obey his revealed will, the more guilty and inexcusable; because we love the creature instead of the Creator, and regard lying vanities in opposition to eternal truth, which is confirmed by every event that ever happened. Good men and bad, angels and devils, all act according to the characters given of them in the holy scriptures. No soil can bear good wheat until the roots naturally in it are broken up, and the wheat sown therein; so the new birth cannot be wrought in any but by divine revelation. It is not a creation of new faculties, but the giving new ideas and dispositions, which were our indispensable duty before, but our evil hearts were contrary thereto. Breaking up of the thorns and briers in a field, is removing things which ought not to be there; and the good seed being sown, and an union formed between the seed and the soil, the birth, the growth is produced. By such means as these great relief was granted to our country, when its ruin seemed inevitable. For at the close of 1779 public credit was sunk so low, that forty paper dollars would not buy more of the produce of our own country, than one would

would in 1775; and from thence to the end of the war very few soldiers were raised in New-England, but upon private personal securities; and large quantities both of cloathing and provisions, that were raised for them, never reached to their camps, by reason of the unfaithfulness and treachery in those who should have conveyed the same to them. But in the year 1779 a fresh revival of religion was granted, which increased in the year 1780, and spread the most extensively and powerfully through New-England, that any revival had done for near forty years. Besides considerable additions that were made to some of the Congregational churches, it greatly increased the Baptist churches that were formed before, and raised about twenty new ones. According to the best accounts yet obtained, there were not less than two thousand persons baptized upon a profession of saving faith in New-England, only in the year 1780; and chiefly in the States of New-Hampshire and the Massachusetts. And though true religion is directly opposite to wars and fightings among men, yet it teacheth an inviolable regard to truth and equity; and no small part of the duty of love is a defence of the innocent, when their rights are invaded, and their lives are in danger. The gospel shews that the only lawful use of the sword, is to punish such as *work ill to their neighbour*; and subjection to the powers that do it is a matter of *conscience* with believers, Rom. xiii. 1—10. And this revival of religion was undoubtedly a great means of saving this land from foreign invasion, and from ruin by internal corruption; though the latter is still so great, that there has been but little rejoicing, and less thankfulness, for the deliverance and peace which are wonderfully granted to us. The Warren Association, at their meeting, September 9,

1783, gave their views of these times in the following address to their countrymen, viz.

VII. "*Dearly Beloved,*

"AFTER a long and very distressing war, we rejoice at this opportunity of congratulating you, upon the return of peace to the nations, and to our land in particular, with a prospect of unspeakable advantages to the present and future generations. Indeed we are not insensible that many are sorrowful and complaining, instead of rejoicing at these times; several causes whereof are obvious. For ever since our first parents revolted from heaven, in order to please their eyes and their taste, their children have been chiefly influenced by carnal sense, instead of reason and truth. And the burthen of taxes, the great scarcity of cash, with the pressing calls for money from every quarter, have drawn a terrible gloom over many minds; which is greatly increased by a view of the untried scene of political existence into which we have entered, where none can tell what is before us; and we have no such arm of flesh to trust to as formerly. Added to which are a great variety of disappointments and losses, with the use of corrupt schemes to repair them, and to get more power and gain, among all orders of men in the land, which make a number think our case almost desperate. But the gospel gives light, and opens the most glorious prospects, where nature can see nothing but darkness. It assures us that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof, and forbids anxiety about to-morrow, because a sparrow cannot fall to the ground, nor an hair from your heads, without the providence of our heavenly Father. And what confirmations of this truth have we had? Yea, and which now surround us? A main hope of our enemies was built upon the prof-

prospect of starving us into submission ; but behold ! the showers and shines of heaven were not at their command ; no, nor the hearts of the people neither. The events of this war are unparalleled.—Deceitful reasonings from the power given to the members and rulers of the Jewish church, have persuaded people for many ages, that some men are born with a right to govern others, and that they are not accountable to the people for what they receive and do ; which has been the grand source of oppression and tyranny through the world. But how has God rent away this veil of darkness ! The American revolution is wholly built upon the doctrine, that all men are born with an equal right to what providence gives them, and that all righteous government is founded in compact or covenant, which is equally binding upon the officers and members of each community.—And as surely as Christianity is true, Christ is the only lawgiver and head of his church ; whom he will save from the power both of *gallies* and *gallant ships*, those modern engines of tyranny, Isai. xxxiii. 16—24. And his laws determine that his ministers shall neither be tyrants nor slaves : Shall neither be supported by *forcing* away any man's property without his personal consent, nor *go a warfare of their own charges*, Mat. x. 7—10, Luke x. 3—12, 1 Cor. ix. 7—14. Opposite extremes about these matters have long served to uphold each other. The terms *hire* and *reward*, on one hand, have been taken to drag this affair into secular courts ; and the word *freely*, on the other, to excuse people from doing any thing to support their ministers ; as if *freedom* belonged only to ministers, while the people were *slaves* to their lusts. Whereas it is as clear as the day-light, that the obligations between pastors and people are mutual ;
and

and that their union and welfare greatly depend upon a free and faithful discharge thereof, out of supreme love to God; viewing themselves to be but stewards of all their gifts and treasures, who must soon give account unto him of their stewardship: Yea, and that he only can give them success or enjoyment in any undertaking whatever. These laws naturally tend to keep his flock from being devoured by such as feed themselves and not the flock, as well as to exclude all members therefrom who refuse to be governed by him; and likewise to guard against all sinful divisions. Corrupt men will not have such advantage as they formerly had, to deceive the simple with artful addresses to their passions, either about the licentiousness or tyranny of others. The cry of persecution will be stopped, while those who love the truth will endeavour to unite with societies who walk most clearly therein, and be in earnest to fill their places with duty and usefulness; knowing that mutual esteem and confidence are most surely promoted thereby, without which societies are unhappy, if not broken and dissolved."

C H A P.

C H A P. XXI.

1. The Rise of a Church on Martha's Vineyard.
2. The State of the Baptists in the County of Barnstable.
3. Also in the County of Plymouth.
4. Of a Riot at Hingham.
5. Of the Baptists in Bristol County.
6. Likewise in Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex.
7. In the Counties of Worcester and Hampshire.
8. Of a Revival of Religion to the Westward.
9. Also to the Northward.
10. And on our eastern Shores.

I. **T**H E next thing before us, is to give a distinct though brief account of the late revival of religion, and of the state of the Baptist churches. And we may begin with the affairs of Martha's Vineyard, an island about twenty miles long, and ten broad, whereon are the towns of Edgarton, Tisbury, and Chilmark. They are a county by themselves, for holding of Inferior Courts, from whence they may appeal to Superior Courts in other counties. From Falmouth, in Barnstable county, to the entrance of the harbour of Holmes's Hole, on said island, is nine miles; which harbour is much frequented by those who sail upon these coasts, and piloting of vessels round Cape-

Cape-Cod and elsewhere is no small part of the business of its inhabitants. The line betwixt Edgarton and Tisbury comes down upon the head of said harbour, so that the inhabitants round it are upon the corners of two towns, seven or eight miles from the meeting-houses in either of them; which I am told some of their children of fifteen or sixteen years old never saw. For the soil is generally thin and barren, so that but very few horses can be kept there, and the men are much employed on the sea, or in getting sustenance out of it: Yet they have been all taxed to a worship that they or their families could but rarely attend, and from which they seemed to get no good; so that at length very few of them went to any public worship at all. It is said, however, that but few intemperate persons were found among them. The war added greatly to their calamities, as our State could not protect them, and they lay at the mercy of our enemies; who came there with a powerful force in the fall of the year 1778, and took from the island all their arms and ammunition, besides three hundred head of cattle and a thousand sheep, and most of the produce of the land near said harbour. Dark indeed did their case appear; and on December 26 was such a cold snow-storm as caused the death of seventeen men in a privateer sloop at the east end of the island, and seventy-five more in a brig near Plymouth. Yet this terrible storm drove into a creek, at the head of Holmes's Hole, such a vast quantity of bass as supplied the inhabitants of the whole island with as many of them as they were pleased to take, and more than they could make use of. And not long after a British vessel was cast away upon the west part of the island, which gave the inhabitants a good supply of rice. And greater favours

favours of another kind were before them. By afflictive providences, and private means of grace, four persons near Holmes's Hole were awakened to a sense of their sin and danger, and in the spring of 1780 they experienced a happy deliverance of soul. And no sooner was light granted to them than they endeavoured to hold the same forth to others, which brought them to set up religious meetings, and a number were hopefully converted by these means. And about the last of June they sent for Elder Lewis, of Freetown, who went over in July, and preached and baptized a number of them. He did the like again in August and October, as Elder Hunt also did in November; and, by particular request, I met them there in December, when a careful enquiry was made into their sentiments and views, and the order of the gospel, with the solemn nature of the Christian profession, was publicly laid open and inculcated. After which, on December 21, 1780, we saw fifty persons solemnly sign covenant together, to whom six more were added on the 24th, and all then sweetly communed together at the Lord's table. The high sheriff of the county was a leading member of this church, which contained some persons of every rank among them. The husband of one of them was born among the Portuguese, and was now newly returned from a distressing captivity in England. By seeing and hearing of these wonders of divine grace, his vows in trouble were brought with authority upon his mind; and though the tempter set in violently with his suggestions, that there was no mercy for him, and that he had better go and drown himself, in the evening after this communion, yet sovereign grace prevented it, and set his soul at liberty, so that he was soon after baptized and joined to that church, as a considerable number

more also did. I have received no late accounts of the Indian Baptist church on that island. (Vol. I, p. 439.)

II. Our next view is of the county of Barnstable. The Separate minister at Harwich, named in p. 175, has removed to Tamworth, in New-Hampshire, and the other of Barnstable is now a pastor of a Congregational church at Newmarket, in that State; and Baptist churches are raised out of each of those Separate societies. A Baptist church was formed and organized at Harwich in 1757; but by advice of a Council, their minister was deposed from his office in 1777, for immoral conduct, and they are now destitute of a pastor, though they have an agreeable teacher with them. They have some members from Wellfleet, where our ministers have frequently preached to attentive audiences. A small parish in the south part of Harwich got a Baptist minister, from the west part of our country, to preach in their parish meeting-house; and in 1781 they formed a Baptist church there, and he was ordained their minister; but he is upon the Arminian plan, and not in fellowship with our churches. The Baptist church in Barnstable was constituted June 20, 1771; but they were very small for seven years, and then a revival was granted, and another in 1781; and things at present appear encouraging among them, though they have not been able as yet to get a settled pastor. There is the beginning of a Baptist society in Sandwich, in that county; but we may truly say of our times, the harvest is great, and the labourers are few.

III. THE rise of the first Baptist church in Middleborough has been described (p. 215); but coldness and stupidity had greatly prevailed there-
in

In for five years before the late revival of religion, which began in the latter part of 1778, and was at its height in July, 1780. The first person added to the church in this revival was on February 28, 1779, and eighty-five have been received since, above two-thirds of whom belong to Bridgwater, in the west part of which town a large Baptist meeting-house was built last year, eight miles from ours, and they have now got a minister to preach to them, though as yet they remain a branch of our church. The rise of the second Baptist church in Middleborough was as follows: Mr. Thomas Nelson, who was born in the town June 6, 1676, just before Philip's war broke out, removed into that part of it called Afawamset, in 1717; about which time he joined to the first Baptist church in Swanzey, as his wife also did August 5, 1723. In 1753 he and his sons, with a few more, set up a meeting at his house, and obtained Mr. Ebenezer Hinds to preach to them. Four miles southwestward from thence Mr. James Mead was ordained pastor of a Separate church in 1751; but he died in 1756, after which the body of his church became Baptists, and Mr. Hinds's hearers joined with them, and ordained him their pastor, January 26, 1756, in which office he still continues. Mr. Nelson died before this church was formed, in his eightieth year; but his wife, Mrs. Hope Nelson, lived to be a member of it, and communed with them at the Lord's table after she was an hundred years old. She died December 7, 1782, aged an hundred and five years and seven months. Her living posterity, besides all that had deceased, were two hundred and fifty-seven in the year 1774. But as some of them are removed to Nova-Scotia, and to other distant places, their number when she died

has

has not since been obtained. Many of them are members of Baptist churches, and three of them are public teachers therein. Mr. Ebenezer Jones was ordained the pastor of the third Baptist church in Middleborough October 28, 1761; but whisperers, who separate very friends, caused such a division there two years after, as not only removed him from being their pastor, but also broke up their meeting for a time. He has been preaching for some years past at Steventown, in the county of Albany. Mr. Hunt was ordained the pastor of said church October 30, 1771; in which year they had a considerable revival, and another much greater in 1780. Their letter to the Warren Association, in September that year, gives the following account of it. Say they, "In our letters for several years past, we had to lament the sad decay of religion among us, and the abounding of iniquity, which in the last year increased to the greatest degree ever known in this place. Men were bold in wicked ways, and all the endeavours of a few faithful ones among us could not prevent it. But blessed be God, things have taken another turn this year; for when sin, the great enemy of mankind, was *coming in like a flood, the spirit of the Lord has lifted up a standard against him.* About the middle of March, on a Lord's day in the afternoon, there appeared a very visible alteration in the face of the whole assembly; they were all attention to the word, and concern was discovered in their countenances, which increased so that by the beginning of April several scores of persons appeared under deep concern about their souls and eternal salvation. And since the work began we have reason to hope that about one hundred souls have been turned from darkness to light, and eighty-three have been baptized.—It is very remarkable

remarkable in our view, to see so many suddenly turned from darkness to light, and have such a clear understanding of the nature of religion, and so ready to practise what they know.—We have been remarkably free from disorders, by means of which those who appeared to oppose this work (who are chiefly of another denomination) and were waiting to see how things turned out, have seen such things as have greatly stilled and convinced them. Thus has it pleased our gracious God to visit a most unworthy people, and, after a dark night of sorrow and mourning, to make us glad with his salvation.” From the beginning of the revival to September, 1781, more than an hundred persons were added to that church, above half of whom were males.

IV. A BRANCH of this church is at Marshfield, where a steady society for worship has been kept up for some years; and in the late revival a number of persons were hopefully converted in Scituate, on the north borders of our county; and frequent religious meetings were held there. This caused a great uneasiness in the adjacent town of Hingham, where their ministers had long taught the world to tyrannize over the church (p. 159). And as an exhorter from Rhode-Island government had attended several meetings in Scituate, the people of Hingham could not be content without shewing their particular resentment against him. Therefore one of them followed said exhorter into Abington, as he was upon his return home, and importuned him to go and hold a meeting at his house. This he at last consented to; and a number of people met there for religious worship in the evening of May 28, 1782. But just as they were going to begin their exercise, a large mob came

came up, whose leader was a communicant in one of the churches in Hingham, and, by leave of the man who had invited said exhorter to his house, they went in and seized him, and carried him away with the bible in his hand; but upon his telling them that it was the best law he ever heard of, they knocked it out of his hand, and stamped it under foot, with oaths and execrations too horrid to be repeated! And they bruised and injured his body, as well as tore his cloaths; and forcibly carried him and two other baptized brethren out of Hingham; and afterwards threatened the life of said exhorter, if he ever came there again. By good advice, a complaint was exhibited to the Grand Jury of that county against the chief of those rioters, and a bill was found against five of them, supported by eight witnesses; and four of the rioters were arraigned before the Court at Boston, October 10, and pleaded not guilty; upon which their trial was appointed to be on January 14, 1783; and they were laid under bonds then to appear; and the Court bound the witnesses also to appear at that time, four of whom were men, and the others women. The season proved to be exceeding difficult, by reason of snow, ice and a severe air, yet the four male witnesses appeared at the time appointed, but none of the rioters, neither was any forfeiture of their bonds exacted; but their trial was put off for two days, and all the witnesses were required then to appear. A sleigh was therefore procured to carry two of the female witnesses; but as they called at a friend's house in Hingham in the evening, to refresh themselves, it was conveyed away and cut to pieces, and they could not find their horse till next day. Yet all the eight witnesses appeared in Boston at the time last appointed; but then

then the lawyers prevailed to have the trial put off until April; one of whom was the man that pleaded conscience for supporting worship by tax, in our conference at Philadelphia, mentioned p. 303. But the world may now see what consciences such men have. In the spring those rioters found that they could no longer put the case off, and then they were in earnest to settle it without a public hearing, which was finally done, by their engaging to pay all costs. But let the politicians of Boston remember, that it is but a few years since they declared to the world, that a delay of justice is a denial of justice; and therefore that wherein they judged others they are self-condemned. And they appear more openly so from the following instance. The burthen of civil taxes being exceeding heavy, and a pair of oxen being exposed to sale therefor in Taunton, opposition was made against the sale; until a gentleman offered a generous price for them, and then the matter was settled. Yet to deter persons from any such thing for the future, two men of Taunton were seized in the night, and carried off to Boston by armed men, the August after said riot at Hingham. What right they had thus to bring men out of another county, belongs not to me to determine; but if an *impartial* regard to the public peace, as well as to the rights of Christianity, had prevailed in the breasts of some men in Boston, could those rioters in their own county have possibly been indulged as they were, and those sufferers have been so cruelly treated!

V. OFFICERS in the church as well as state often do much mischief if unfaithful, and much good if faithful in their several stations. Our churches in Swansey and Rehoboth have had large experience of this.

this. The blessings which the first church of Swan-
zey enjoyed under the successive ministrations of
their elders, Miles, Luther and Wheaton, are touch-
ed upon (vol. 1, p. 353, 506, vol. 2, p. 68, 121,
124). Mr. Samuel Maxwell was ordained a col-
league with the last of them the year before his
death. Mr. Maxwell lived to a great age, and was
esteemed a pious man; but he was so unsteady in
his principles and conduct, as to cause much un-
happiness in the churches. On this account he
was, by his own request, dismissed from Swanzey
in 1739, and though he took the charge of the Bap-
tist church in Rehoboth six years after, yet he did
not continue four years with them. In 1742 said
church in Swanzey settled a gifted minister from
Narraganset, who had a thronged audience for a
few years, yet then he was accused of the sin of un-
cleanness, which charge he never cleared up, but
went off and left the church. Their next minister
was accused of taking unjust methods to get into
that place; and he was much influenced by a few
men in the church who were attached to Arminian-
ism; and by these means, the church that had two
hundred members in pious Elder Wheaton's days,
was reduced to a very small number, and the con-
gregation also. After about thirty years he was dis-
missed at his own request, and removed away. And as
the meeting-house and minister's house in Warren
were burnt by the enemy, and the place was still ex-
posed to their rage, they agreed at present to unite
with Swanzey church, three miles off; and their pas-
tor was called and settled there. And such a divine
blessing was granted, that when I was there in Oc-
tober, 1781, I was informed that within two years
about two hundred persons had been added to the
two churches in Swanzey. The former elders of
the

the second church in Swanzey are before mentioned (p. 11, 13, 43.) Their next elder, Job Mason, was ordained May 22, 1738; and was well esteemed in his office until his decease, in August, 1775, æt. 80. His brother Russel Mason, their present pastor, was ordained November 2, 1752. General redemption had been so much held there; as to admit members upon a general declaration of their faith, until a powerful work among them, in the beginning of 1772, introduced particular relations of the work of divine grace upon their souls; and light has greatly increased among them since. And in this late revival it has introduced singing in their public worship. The town of Rehoboth calls for our next attention. The Baptist church formed there under Mr. Comer's ministry (p. 121) increased to ninety-five members in less than two years. But in 1736 a minister was ordained in his stead, whose principles were unsound; and six years after he took a whore instead of his wife, and went off with her. Since which diversity of sentiments about doctrines, terms of communion, &c. have produced many small societies in that town, which I shall not attempt particularly to describe here, as a list of them may hereafter be given. The two Baptist churches in Attleborough were formed out of Separate churches there. The pastor of the church in Norton (mentioned p. 232) after a pious and useful life, fell asleep on August 23, 1768. After which the church united with a small society in the north borders of Taunton, where they are become a large society; and their present pastor was ordained November 12, 1772. In the year 1780 there was a most precious harvest of souls among them. No other Baptist churches in that county have had

more than one pastor; and their names may hereafter be given.

VI. THE three counties last mentioned contain the whole of the ancient Colony of Plymouth (the first in New-England) excepting the few towns since set off to Rhode-Island. The Colony of Massachusetts is the next before us, the head county whereof is Suffolk. The affairs of the two Baptist churches in Boston, their capital, have been described (vol. 1, p. 353, &c. vol. 2, p. 33, 50, 125, 149, 269, 276.) To which I shall add, that Mr. Condy was a gentleman of superior powers and learning, and of a very respectable character among mankind; but the sentiments he had imbibed about the doctrines of sovereign grace, impeded his public usefulness in the ministry; and upon the instalment of their present pastor, January 9, 1765, he freely resigned his office in that church. The present pastor of their second church succeeded Mr. Davis in 1774. The next Baptist church in that county is in Bellingham, which was constituted October 15, 1750. Their first pastor was Mr. Elnathan Wight, a pious and useful man, who died in November, 1761. To him succeeded their present pastor, who was installed there November 12, 1766. He was first ordained at Stafford, June 5, 1755; but was dismissed from thence by the advice of a Council, August 28, 1765, because the majority of the church appeared to be so much out of a gospel line of travel, that other churches withdrew their fellowship from them. The rest of the Baptist churches in that county have had no more than one minister. In Essex, beside the church of Haverhill, of which we have spoken (p. 236) Baptist meetings are held at Danvers, Rowley and Methuen. In Middlesex, the church whereof Mr. Draper was pastor in Cambridge

bridge (p. 176) dissolved after he left them, and the time of the constitution of our present church there may be hereafter seen. Mr. Elisha Rich was the first pastor of our Chelmsford church, who was ordained there October 5, 1774, but he removed in to the State of Vermont near four years after. Their present pastor was ordained September 24, 1783. Baptist meetings are steadily held at Framingham and Weston, but churches are not formed there.

VII. IN Worcester county, the church at Sutton, mentioned (p. 124) was become small when their aged pastor died, January 4, 1775, and they are since dissolved. The second Baptist church there settled a minister in 1768, who was dismissed four years after for not being sound in the faith. Elder Green, of Leicester, after a very laborious and useful life, was taken to his rest August 20, 1773, æt. 73. Benjamin Foster, A. M. educated at Yale college, was ordained there October 23, 1776, and an evident blessing attended his labours for a considerable time. But differences about some points of practice arising among them, he was dismissed by mutual consent, about six years after, and removed and preaches to a new society in Danvers, his native place. The first pastor of the Baptist church in Sturbridge died in 1755, and they have gone through many trying scenes since, but have at present a prospect of settling an agreeable pastor soon. Mr. Samuel Dennis was ordained at Peterborough in October, 1778, but he was taken from his beloved flock by death in April, 1783. The first pastor of South-Brimfield church, in the county of Hampshire (p. 124) removed from thence to Nova-Scotia (though he came back afterward) and Mr. James Mellen was their second pastor, who is mentioned p. 242, 243. Their present pastor was ordained

ordained November 11, 1773, when the church was very small and feeble, but a great blessing has been since granted there. They had but twenty-three members in the church before a revival began among them in 1779, which in their letter to our Association, in September that year, was thus described, viz. "Dear brethren, we have to inform you, that by the grace of God we are at peace among ourselves, and enjoy much of that love which passeth knowledge. The Lord of his mercy is come down among us, by his great and mighty power. Such solemn meetings we never had before; it comes like the showers of rain upon the mown grass. O the agonies of soul that some feel, and the joys that some are full and more than full of! It seems as if heaven was come down here. Numbers are born of the Spirit, and feel the sweet liberty of the gospel. O the solemn cries for the salvation of sinners! O the amazing joys we feel! Never, never did we before see such a happy day! May the Lord have all the glory. O that it may spread through all the earth! Through divine goodness it does spread more and more. Brethren, pray for us. Some who a few weeks ago seemed the most stupid, are now speaking freely of their amazing joys, and beholding their bleeding and very precious Redeemer. The work is so great that we cannot consent to our elder's meeting you in Association this year. We have this year thirty-four added by baptism; our whole number is fifty-seven." From our sister church in Wilbraham, adjacent to them, they wrote at the same time and said, "We pray God to direct you in conferring upon matters that concern the visible kingdom of Christ, and do that which may be for his glory, and the lasting peace and benefit of his churches. Beloved, the love of Christ, that bond

bond of peace, still unites our hearts. God of his infinite grace and goodness is carrying on a glorious work by his spirit. Saints are quickened thereby, and sinners are converted to him. It is wonderful to behold the change that has been in the space of one year with us. The hearts of fathers are turned to the children, and the children to the fathers. God is to us a place of broad rivers; we desire to exalt him, and give him all the glory.—Added to the church this year fifty-one; died none. Our present number is one hundred and thirty-three.”

VIII. AN elder from Berkshire wrote August 29, 1779, and said, “I snatch a moment to acknowledge the debt of love. I read the refreshing lines from you, and rejoice in your prosperity. May Zion’s King enlarge her borders. It is a most remarkable time of the work of our God in New-Providence*, Lanesborough, Hancock, New-Lebanon, Little-Housack, and some other places. In the fore part of June, at Shaftsbury, I baptized twenty-nine in one day. At Wallomstock§ I attended the ordination of Elder Wait, and had a charming interview with Elder Gano. In a few weeks past I have baptized thirty-two, who have joined to our church. Elder Mason has baptized perhaps near thirty more, and a number have declared what God has done for them, that are not yet baptized. O brethren, help us to praise the God of love!” From Ashfield they wrote in September, 1780, and said, “The Lord has been pleased to pour out of his spirit abundantly in this place, to the quickening of his children, and the conviction and conversion of many souls, as we, in a judgment of charity, have reason to believe. O help

* Now part of the town of Adams.

§ Near where the Bennington battle was.

O help us to praise the Lord for his goodness, and his wonderful works to the children of men, and to us in particular!—We have had the addition of nine members by letters, and thirty-six by baptism; have dismissed two to the church in Colerain, and excluded one. Our present number is ninety-four.” And in all the churches and members that were added to the Warren Association in 1780, there was an increase of seven hundred and ninety-six members. Ninety were added only to the church in South-Brimfield, which formerly had passed through many and sore trials. And from a minister in the State of New-Hampshire, to whom I wrote, I received the following remarkable account, dated March 15, 1781. Says he,

IX. “I REJOICE, sir, to hear that in the midst of judgment, God is remembering mercy, and calling in his elect, from east to west. You have refreshed my mind with good news from the west and south, and in return I will inform you of good news from the north and east. Some hundreds of souls are hopefully converted in the counties of Rockingham, Stafford and Grafton, in New-Hampshire, within about a year past. In the last journey I went, before my beloved wife was taken from me, I baptized seventy-two men, women, and some that may properly be called children, who confessed with their mouths the salvation God had wrought in their hearts, to good satisfaction. Meredith, in Stafford, has a church gathered the year past, consisting of between sixty and seventy members. I baptized forty-three in that town in one day, and such a solemn weeping of the multitude on the shore I never before saw. The ordinance of baptism appeared to carry universal conviction through them, even to a man. The wife, when

when she saw her husband going forward, began to weep, to think she was not worthy to go with him: In like manner the husband the wife, the parent the child, the children the parent; that the lamentation and weeping methinks may be compared to the inhabitants of Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Magiddon.—Canterbury, in Rockingham county, has two Baptist churches gathered in the year past, one in the parish of Northfield; the number I cannot tell, but it is considerably large: I baptized thirty-one there, and a number have been baptized since by others: The other is in the parish of Loudon, in said Canterbury, containing above an hundred members.—Another church of about fifty members is gathered in Chichester; another in Barrington, consisting of a goodly number, and one in Hubbardston, all three in Stafford county. Two churches in Grafton county, one in Holderness, the other in Rumney. The church in Rumney had one Hains ordained last August, much to the satisfaction of the people. All these seven churches have been gathered in about a year past.—One church was gathered last fall in Wells, over which brother Nathaniel Lord, late of Berwick, is ordained.—There appears to be a general increase of the Baptist principles through all the eastern parts of New-England.” A large part of those plantations, for an hundred and fifty miles upon our eastern shores, have no Congregational ministers. Near thirty incorporated towns in the county of Lincoln have scarce five such ministers settled in them. But I have received the following entertaining account of the revival of religion in those parts.

X. A MAN who was born there, and was about ten years old when such a noise was made against Mr. Whitefield, as we have described (p. 171) says,
 “I was

“I was then convinced that neither myself, nor those men who spake with so much spite and malice, were the children of God; and I was rationally convinced that those they spake against were his children, although they called them deluded, possessed with the devil, Highflyers and Newlights; and though they spake it as a scandal, yet I believed I must know that light, or perish in darkness; and I still retained a selfish or legal love to those people, though never so much despised. And from that time until I was twenty-six years old, the spirit of God was striving with me, by awakening my conscience, convincing me of sin, and that I must be born again. And so I went on sinning and repenting, reforming and forgetting, looking upon God to be such a God as I would have him to be; in hopes, that for what good there was in me, he would shew mercy to me. But when about twenty-six years of age, and my affections much set upon the things of the world, just about the time I was married, I was suddenly taken down with sickness, and part of the time deprived of reason; and those who saw me despaired of my recovery. But, glory be to God, he dealt not with me according to my deserts, but according to his rich love and free grace in Jesus Christ; for he enlightened my understanding, and awakened my conscience, and set my sins in order before me, and that which I had forgotten came all to memory, with the breach of many vows and promises, which grieved me to the heart as I thought. O, I cried to God to forgive my sins, and to shew mercy for Christ's sake; for I saw myself a condemned sinner, and told those who came to discourse with me about religious matters, that I saw myself to be the greatest sinner of all men; and had I owned all this globe, I would have given it all

all for an interest in Christ. Yea, all the men upon earth could not have persuaded me out of the opinion, that I was more willing to receive Christ than he was to receive me. But it pleased the Lord, in about a month, to raise me up to a considerable state of bodily health, with a great earnestness, as I thought, to seek and serve him; reading the scriptures often, praying in secret and in my family, exhorting many others to seek and serve God, and warning them against evil practices. Yet in all this I did not think I was born again, neither did I think I could do any thing of myself to forward the work of regeneration; and here I got clear of one false hope, and began to build upon another; now I put great dependence in my non-dependence, and so went on with my reformation, thinking all the good I did that it was God who wrought it in me, and the evil came from the devil and my own corrupt nature; and this hope gave me great joy in my good performances, but great grief, guilt and repentance, for the commission of any known sin, or the omission of any known duty; and so I went on for ten or twelve years, and after that I grew more engaged after the treasures of the world, and then my delight in religion died away.—At length I began to think I was blind, and ignorant both of my own miserable estate, and of the remedy God had provided. I prayed that God would enlighten my understanding; but still I grew more blind, ignorant and wicked, as I thought, but kept it to myself, till at last I got hedged up so that I could neither read nor pray, which lasted but a short time. This was a sabbath morning, September 30, 1781.—Now I began to see the base views I formerly had of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the plan of salvation; for when I had a discovery of ac-

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tual sins, and the danger I was exposed to thereby, I would repent and reform, and think what a glorious Saviour Christ was, and that some time or other he would save me from hell, and take me to glory, with a desire to be happy, but no desire to be holy. But, glory be to God, he now gave me another view of salvation; now I saw his law to be holy, and loved it, though I and all my conduct was condemned by it. Now I saw that God's justice did not strike against me as his creature, but as a sinner, and that Christ died not only to save from punishment, but from sin itself. I saw that Christ's office was not only to make men happy, but to make them holy, and the plan now looked beautiful to me; I had no desire to have the least tittle of it altered, but all my cry was to be conformed to it.— On October 3 the load of guilt and condemnation was instantly removed, and my soul was filled with joy and peace. Then it was asked me, could I desire any thing more? And at first I saw no want, till I found a want of love and gratitude in me to return thanks to God for this great deliverance, which I began to cry and plead for; and those words were spoke to me, *greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend*; which came with such light, life, love and power, that I knew it to be the voice of my blessed Jesus, who by his holy spirit set that glorious seal to my soul that God is true; and now, by his grace, I could speak forth redeeming love and free grace without dread or fear. At this time there was no work or moving of religion among us, or round about us." But he was constrained to go and visit his neighbours from house to house, and to lay open to them the vast concerns of the soul and eternity, whereby many were awakened, and a large number have

have been hopefully converted since. Two new Baptist churches have been formed in this year, and there is a prospect of greater and more extensive blessings in those new plantations.

C H A P. XXII.

1. Of the Baptist Churches in the County of Providence.
2. In Newport County.
3. And Westward from thence.
4. The Folly of Man exposed.
5. Even among all Sects.
6. How Truth is held in Unrighteousness.
7. By the Shakers as well as others.
8. The only Remedy against Delusions, and Measure of our real Happiness, is a hearty Obedience to God's revealed Will.

I. **W**HEN we turn our eyes westward, and take a view of the first Baptist church in America, the folly of man and the goodness of God appear very conspicuous therein. The learned Mr. Callender, in his century sermon, expressed some scruple whether Mr. Roger Williams, the founder of that town and Colony, was ever a member of that church, or not. But he was convinced of this mistake afterwards. Governor Winthrop, the most ingenuous

genuous and upright writer of any gentleman at Boston in that day, whose writings have come down to us, dates the beginning of the Baptist church in Providence in March, 1639, and says it began by Ezekiel Holiman's baptizing Mr. Williams, and then he baptizing the rest. But that in July after, the opinion mentioned (p. 95) put a stop to his further travel with them. And Richard Scott, who was one of them, says two or three of the church withdrew with Williams. (Vol. 1, p. 106—108.) Thomas Olney was their next minister. But the diversity of sentiments mentioned in this volume (p. 94—96) brought such darkness over their affairs, that no regular records before 1770 are now found therein. Their ancient fathers, Olney, Dexter, Wickenden, Tillinghast and others, could write well, as their civil records and some private papers witness; and I cannot but hope that more distinct accounts of their religious affairs will hereafter be discovered. Elder Tillinghast, whose memory is precious (p. 110, 114) plainly told his people their duty to future ministers; but himself was so far from being chargeable to them, that he gave the lot upon which their first meeting-house was built, and died in a good old age, in 1718, and his posterity are now numerous and respectable. Mr. Ebenezer Jencks, brother to the Governor, was a pastor of that church from 1719, to his decease in 1726, colleague with Elder James Brown (p. 116.) And their two families have, in late years, done the most of any families upon earth for the promotion of learning, and the Baptist cause in Providence. Elder Winsor, there mentioned, continued in that office until his death in 1758, æt. 81. Elder Thomas Burlingham was a colleague with him, and died in 1770, æt. 82. Elder Winsor's son Samuel succeeded

ed him in the care of said church in Providence, from 1759 until 1771, when he and a minor part of the church drew off, on account of differing sentiments concerning the doctrines of grace, and singing in public worship, then introduced (which was a return to the first principles of the church) and he and his followers formed another church in Johnston. One of the two churches in Smithfield (mentioned in p. 120) is dissolved: Elder John Winsor officiates in the other, where Elder Place did; but I have not been favoured with any distinct account of their affairs, nor of those of the church in Scituate, where Elder Hopkins succeeds Elder Fisk. The like is to be said of the church in Cumberland, where Elder Ballou succeeds Elder Cooke. These three churches hold to general redemption, and make laying on of hands a term of their communion. But Elder Joseph Winsor, son to the first Elder Winsor in Providence, who succeeds Elder Thomas Knowlton in Gloucester, is in full fellowship with our churches. And so is Elder Rufus Tift, who was ordained in North-Providence June 16, 1784, successor to Elder Ezekiel Angell, who died September 27, 1780.

II. Of the ministers of the first and second churches in Newport, we have before spoken (p. 109, 110, 122.) The learned Mr. Callender died there January 26, 1748; and Mr. Upham's society at Springfield being small, he was prevailed with to remove to Newport the next year, where he ministered the chief of his time until 1771, when he returned to his flock at Springfield, whom he had often visited in the mean time. And Mr. Kelly, from Philadelphia, was ordained pastor of the first church in Newport, October 9, 1771; and though the war caused his removal from them,
yet

yet he has since returned to them again. Elder Wightman, of the second church there, died August 31, 1750, æt. 82. Elder Eyres was taken from them February 13, 1759, æt. 68, and their present pastor, who had often preached to them before, was ordained the 29th of April following. He was almost the only dissenting minister who continued to preach on the island through all the distressing season of its being possessed by the enemy; and he has had a precious harvest of souls there since. The third church in Newport, who keep the seventh day, began under the ministry of Mr. William Hiscox in 1671, who continued their pastor until his death, May 24, 1704, æt. 66. Elder William Gibson from London was his successor, and died March 12, 1717, æt. 79. Elder Joseph Crandall had been a colleague with him for two years, and continued their minister until he died, September 13, 1737. Elder John Maxson was their next minister, from 1754 until his decease, March 2, 1778. Mr. Ebenezer David (who was converted in Providence college, and took his first degree there in 1772) belonged to this church; and having been a chaplain much esteemed in our army, died therein not far from Philadelphia, a few days after Mr. Maxson. Their present pastor was ordained a colleague with him.

THE church in Dartmouth (mentioned in p. 18, 73) now have their meeting-house and the majority of their members within the bounds of Tiverton. Elder Tabor died in 1752; after which they had Elder David Round for their minister a number of years, and some others; but it was a dark trying time with them, until a late remarkable revival was granted. Their present pastor is from Newport. He removed there in the spring of

of 1775, but laboured under many discouragements for five years; and then heavy afflictions were made to work for good to him and his people. He was ordained April 13, 1780, and much of a spirit of prayer was granted for the revival of religion; which prayers were answered in such a manner, that betwixt the first of June that year, and June 27, 1781, ninety members were added to that church. In which time say they, "We have seen as it were many Pentecost days, and enjoyed heaven upon earth: All glory to God forever and ever. The subjects of the work seem to be of all ages, from fifteen to sixty, and all circumstances of life. They tell clear experiences of a work of grace; and some who have been professors several years can now tell something like a new conversion."

III. WHEN we pass over the Narraganset Bay, I perceive that the church in South-Kingstown (mentioned p. 120) has long been dissolved; those in North-Kingstown and Warwick continue, but my intelligence concerning them is too imperfect to be of any service to the public. The like may be said concerning the seventh day church at Westerly and Hopkinton, who continued to act as one church with their brethren of Newport, until they were regularly dismissed therefrom in 1708. The church in the west part of Warwick, where Elder Worden was ordained (p. 175) is dissolved; and after preaching for some time to the church in Coventry (mentioned p. 202) many of them removed to the place where he is now settled in Berkshire. The west part of Coventry, with the adjacent borders of Scituate and Foster, had scarcely the appearance of religion among them, until Elder Nichols was raised up, and made instrumental of a very considerable reformation in those parts. Elder David Sprague died in
Exeter,

Exeter, in 1777, and his son before and since has been made a very useful man there. Oliver Babcock succeeded his father in office at Westerly. Elder Wightman's son is his successor in Groton. The church at New-London (p. 89) is dissolved, by means of the ill conduct of their minister. The pious Elder Merriman died at Southington last winter, æt. 88. Such a revival of religion was granted in Woodstock, in 1780, as added ninety members to the Baptist church there, in less than two years. And to the honor of Governor Trumbull it is to be remembered, that he has repeatedly interposed his influence in favour of that society, to relieve them when taxed to the worship of their opponents. The present Baptist minister of Suffield was ordained in 1775; and such a blessing was granted upon his labours, that their church increased in about a year from sixty to two hundred members. And our principles prevail more and more in all parts of the country; so that we may truly adopt the language of Moses's prophetic song, *for their rock is not our rock, even our enemies themselves being judges.* They have often declared that their ministers and churches would come down, if they were not supported by compulsion. They have now tried that power against us, and to support themselves, until it plainly fails them, while our rock stands firm. Let all the glory be given to God therefor. We are so far from deserving any part of it, that like babes we have need again to be taught which are the first principles of the oracles of God.

IV. LET us take a brief view of those principles, and of the folly of man in departing from them. If we pay any regard to the word of Christ, we must know, that no man can see his kingdom, nor have right to any power therein, without regeneration;

ration; and also that all striving about who shall be the greatest is excluded therefrom, John i. 12, 13, iii. 3, Mat. xviii. 1—4, xx. 25—28. Agreeable to which the fathers of New-England were taught, that, “As the kingdom of Christ is not of this world (John xviii. 36) but spiritual, and he a spiritual king; so must the government of this spiritual kingdom, under this spiritual king, needs be spiritual, and all the laws of it. And as Christ Jesus hath, by the merits of his priesthood (1 Cor. vi. 20) redeemed as well the body as the soul, so is he also, by the sceptre of his kingdom, to rule and reign over both: Unto which Christian magistrates, as well as meaner persons, ought to submit themselves; and the more Christian they are, the more meekly to take the yoke of Christ upon them; and the greater authority they have, the more effectually to advance his sceptre over themselves and their people by all good means. Neither can there be any reason given, why the merits of saints may not as well be mingled with the merits of Christ for the saving of his church, as the laws of men with his laws for the ruling and guiding of it. He is as absolute and entire a king as he is a priest, and his people must be as careful to preserve the dignity of the one, as to enjoy the benefit of the other*.” And as the teachers in the church of England continued to call baptism regeneration, as Origen did, and yet the author against whom Mr. Robinson wrote told of his begetting many of his hearers in Christ by his preaching, Robinson said to him, “Their baptism was true baptism, and so the true seal of their forgiveness of sins, and new birth, as you affirm p. 119, and this their seal of the new birth hath stood good upon them all this

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while,

* Robinson against Beraard, p. 38.

while, visibly and externally ; and yet, after all this, you preach unto them and beget them anew, visibly and eternally (for only God knoweth that which is true within.) You have begotten them through the gospel. Behold a monstrous generation ! a man begetting children twenty, thirty or forty years after they be born ! If Nichodemus had heard of this, he might well have said, how can these things be* !” And how is the folly of others also now exposed in our land ? In 1638, the year Harvard college was founded, a law was made at Boston, to empower the voters in each town (which then were only the communicants in their churches) to compel every inhabitant therein to contribute proportionably with others, “ For upholding the ordinances in the churches, whereof he *doth or may* receive benefit.” And because a man wrote some arguments against this practice, he was fined Ten Pounds ; and another was fined Forty Shillings, only for reading the same before company ; and the ministers said such men were “ Rather to be taught by cudgel than argument.” (Vol. I, p. 98, 100.) But how is their folly now made *manifest unto all men*, according to God’s promise ? 2 Tim. iii. 5—9. Corrupt ministers have done the most to promote infidelity and a contempt of revealed religion of any men upon earth. After these things had broken forth in the nation most terribly, in and after the reign of Charles the second, bishop Burnet said, “ I am forced to declare, that having had much free conversation with many that have been fatally corrupted that way, they have very often owned to me, that nothing promoted this so much in them, as the very bad opinion which they took up of all clergymen of all sides : They did not see in them that strictness of life, that con-
tempt

* Preface, p. 11, 12.

tempt of the world, that zeal, that meekness, humility and charity, that diligence and earnestness, with relation to the truths of the Christian religion, which they reckoned they would most certainly have, if they themselves firmly believed it. Therefore they concluded, that those whose business it was more strictly to enquire into the truth of their religion, knew that it was not so certain as they themselves, for other ends, endeavoured to make the world believe it was. And that, though for carrying on of their own authority or fortunes, which in one word they call their *trade*, they seemed to be very positive in affirming the truth of their doctrines; yet they in their own hearts did not believe it, since they lived so little answerable to it, and were so much set on raising themselves by it; and so little on advancing the honor of their *profession*, by an exemplary piety and shining conversation. This (says Burnet) is a thing not to be answered by being angry at them for saying it, or by reproaching such as repeat it, as if they were *enemies to the church*; these words of heat and faction signify nothing to work upon, or convince any †." And he well observes, that a real reformation is the only effectual remedy. And such a door is now opened for an extensive reformation, as never has been before among any people since the rise of Antichrist. He rose and has prevailed by the connexion of the officers of church and state together, so as to level the terrors both of this and the future world against all that attempted to resist their power. But how is that connexion now broken? A learned gentleman in the law published an answer last January, to the minister mentioned (p. 353) who tells him plainly, "That a church hath a right, beyond all obligation that human laws can lay

† Preface to his pastoral care, 1692, p. 12, 13.

lay upon them, to dismiss their pastor when they please. Churches may advise churches, and members may reason with members; but to advise will always suppose, that the advice may be accepted or rejected; and should it be rejected, I know not to what earthly tribunal the pastor, as pastor, could repair with his complaint against his church.—The first principle in a religious body is, that they will act according to the dictates of a good conscience, advising, not controuling one another. There is nothing more plain than that when they consent to do that which their consciences disapprove, they do *not act as a religious society**.” This is a most important truth, but how little is it regarded?

V. CAN the conscience of any man approve of his taking away the property of another for nothing? or requiring him to do much service for a community, without any support or reward? Christ says the labourer is worthy of his reward; and his command is, *let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived; God is not mocked.* Yet how many are there at this day that make high pretences of regard to a free gospel, and at the same time treat those whom they applaud as true teachers of it worse than they do their oxen? Not only neglect to communicate good things to them themselves, but hinder others from doing of it. Such an instance has been described (p. 116.) And there are persons now in all parts of the land, who are ready to spit their venom, and if possible to ruin the characters of all teachers who will not either be tyrants or slaves; either be confederate in forcing away the property of people for nothing, and worse than nothing, or else spend their lives and strength

* *Strictures upon Thatcher*, by J. S. p. 19, 22.

strength for the good of souls, and receive nothing from them but empty words. The great design of religion is to make men just and merciful; but how opposite thereto is it, to set a man up in a public and expensive office, exposed to the resentment of earth and hell, and require him to go *this warfare of his own charges!* 1 Cor. ix. 7—14. Can any wonder if a curse is sent upon the blessings of men who refuse to lay these things to heart? Mal. ii. 2, iii. 9, 10. Truth and love bring teachers and members to act in union, and to regard each others case as their own, which a precious number do in our day; but pride and covetousness *causeth divisions and offences*, contrary thereto; and all such are to be *marked and avoided*. Those in general who have made use of secular force in religious matters have been such *schismatics* (p. 50) neither can others be free of that guilt, who lay heavy service and burthens upon their officers, and will not touch them with one of their fingers. The time is coming when the vile person shall no more be called liberal, nor the churl beautiful; *but the liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand*, Isai. xxxii. 5—8. Near or quite half of the expence of the sitting of the Legislatures, both of Massachusetts and Connecticut, ever since they have supported ministers by tax (except in the late time of war) has been to contrive how to take and give property that they had no more right to meddle with, than they had to appoint some men to make a weekly feast in each town, and compel all to pay for it, whether they liked it or not; yea, although they discovered poison therein. For worse poison for bodies was never found upon earth, than a great deal of the teaching thus paid for in our land is to the souls of men. The apostle speaks
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of *oppositions of science falsely so called*, and of those who *hold the truth in unrighteousness*; and perhaps the following are instances of it.

VI. THAT Christianity is essentially necessary to the good order of civil society, is a certain truth, (p. 331) but men hold it in unrighteousness, when they assume a power to *add* to Christ's laws about his worship. Pretenders to new immediate revelations do this as really as state politicians. Special teachings of the Holy Spirit we all need continually, to give us a right understanding of the holy scriptures, so as to apply and obey them in a right manner; but they are perfect in themselves, and sufficient to furnish the man of God for every good work, when he takes the *apostles* as the true expounders of the *prophets*. On this foundation the Christian church was built, Eph. ii. 19, 20. And though *confounding* of them together produced mystery Babylon, yet when she shall be destroyed that order will be again observed, Rev. xviii. 20. Their writings, with the united church of believing Jews and Gentiles built thereon, appear to be the two witnesses mentioned in Rev. xi. 3—15. Directly after their resurrection, the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdom of Christ; which undoubtedly intends an entire submission to his laws and government. Reference is there had to Zech. iv. 11—14, which speaks of one candlestick, of two olive trees, and of *golden oil* communicated into it through them. There was then but one church; but after the partition wall betwixt Jews and Gentiles was broken down, *both* have access by *one spirit* unto the Father; which spirit is plainly the golden oil communicated to souls through the word of truth. This united church is the light of the world, and the pillar and
ground

ground of the truth, Mat. v. 14, 1 Tim. iii. 15. The chief disputes in the world have been whether God's revealed mind is strictly *true*? or if true, how it can be *equal*? The apostles and prophets, and all hearty believers of their writings, have ever witnessed for both of these points; but it has long been in sackcloth or mourning. And perhaps when they are killed, and yet the *people* will not permit them to be buried, means when officers become so corrupt that *truth falls in the street, and equity cannot enter*, though the *people* will not entirely part therewith. Hereupon Jehovah will arise and render *vengeance to his enemies according to their deeds; yea, recompence to the islands*. After which the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and to them that *turn from transgression in Jacob*; who will be established in a way *covenant obedience to the words of his mouth*, by the influence of his *spirit*. This prophecy the apostle applies to future times, which will be as *life from the dead*, Isai. lix. 14—21, Rom. xi. 15, 26. Again, because it is a most important truth that *God is no respecter of persons*, many deny his right to *do what he will with his own grace*, though in a way of perfect justice. He is perfectly just in all his dispensations, while he *shews mercy to whom he will shew mercy*. And to deny this is to deny him the right which every freeman has with his own property. Oh, madness! It is also an essential truth, that God is *Love* in the abstract; but it is a fatal delusion to imagine that he loves every individual sinner, so as not to inflict endless punishment upon such as die in impenitency. The devils are his creatures, and were a higher order of them than men; yet their endless punishment is declared as one evidence against those who turn grace into lasciviousness, Jude 6. Again, Christ's finished atonement is the object

object of faith, and all our encouragement to come to God by him, is ever to be derived from the record thereof given in the gospel, which is as true before we believe it as afterwards; but it is a most deceitful trick to argue from thence, that the true believer is not conscious of an inward change in his soul, so as to be enabled to do such acts as are *well pleasing to God*, Heb. xiii. 16. When any in Israel were bitten with the fiery serpents, all hope of life was cut off, but only from an object without and above them, to which each of them must look, or death was his portion; yet when he looked, a change was wrought *within him*; the poison was expelled, and health recovered; and it would have been a wicked thing in any of them not to have rejoiced, and been thankful therefor. Now Christ himself explains faith and regeneration hereby, John iii. 14, 15. Yet Robert Sandeman, and James Relly after him, have poisoned the souls of many with artful representations that it is pharisaical pride for any to tell of inward experiences, and to rejoice in what God had done within them. And the latter of them, by deceitfully representing that our own interest is part of the first object of faith, has carried his argument in many minds, that every individual will finally be saved, because if it were not so, it could not be a crime not to believe a point which was not true in fact. Whereas in the passage that he builds most upon, a not believing the *record* as it stands in the book is the crime charged; and life is there declared to be *in the Son*, and *given to us*, and also that none have life but those who *have that gift*, 1 John v. 10—12, Now compare this with Christ's own words concerning the brazen serpent, and Relly's argument appears as false as it would to have argued, that it could not have been a crime
for

for a poisoned person to refuse a look to it, unless healing was as certainly his before as afterwards: No crime to *make light* of the gospel call, unless the feast they are called to is certainly theirs, and they may come to it when they please; and that God's infinite love obliges him to receive them whenever they shall cry for it in good earnest, Mat. xxii. 1—4. The devil himself never preached worse doctrine than this, yet how many are strongly attached thereto!

VII. ANOTHER essential truth of the gospel is, that we must daily deny ourselves and take up our cross, or we cannot be Christ's disciples: But this truth has often been held in unrighteousness in every age. The people mentioned p. 209, run to a great length in that way. A man from Charlestown, near Boston, was their head, who about 1758 assumed God's essential prerogatives in such a blasphemous manner, that he was complained of to authority, upon which he fled, and his followers concealed him for many years, and a house was built for that purpose in Harvard, where they privately resorted to him, who declared himself to be perfect and immortal, until death arrested him, and he was buried with great secrecy. Since which the same house in Harvard has been made the head-quarters of a small company from Britain, who have a woman for their head. They privately got together in the county of Albany, and formed their scheme; and then in April, 1780, it was suddenly proclaimed, that a new dispensation was begun, greater than had ever been known in the world before, which all were called to enter into, or they could not be saved. A Pedobaptist minister in New-Lebanon, and a Baptist minister in Pittsfield, fell into the snare; and many hundreds were drawn into it, in various parts of
H h h Massachusetts,

Massachusetts, New-Hampshire and Connecticut. The said Baptist minister in Pittsfield, after being a few months with them, was delivered from that delusion, and published an account of their scheme, which was printed at Hartford, Norwich, Providence and Boston. I was at his house in June, 1782, and went with him to visit a considerable number of them. They earnestly inculcate that doctrine of devils of *forbidding to marry*, and require so much *bodily exercise*, in singing and dancing, &c. as has destroyed the health and even the lives of some; a cruel cross indeed! while their chief leaders delight themselves much in feasting and drinking spirituous liquor. I would by no means misrepresent any of their sentiments or conduct; but I have obtained most certain evidence that these seven abominations constitute the essence of their scheme. 1. They hold an earthly head to their church. 2. That out of it is no salvation. 3. That the only way into it is by confessing even secret sins to them. 4. That when any have so done, they must believe as the church believes, and do as they say. 5. They teach *do and live*. 6. Their doings are unnatural and violent. 7. They endeavour to enforce and propagate their scheme with a strange *power, signs and lying wonders*. Some of them at Norton and elsewhere have carried matters so far this year, as for men and women to dance together entirely naked, to imitate the primitive state of perfection. And their forcibly stripping a woman of one of their families, who testified against their wickedness, has moved the authority of Bristol county lately to take them in hand therefor. Forbidding men and their wives to lodge together is a point they are strenuous upon. But a number who were with them have renounced their delusions, and their party is evidently

evidently on the decline. And so is that of another company, of whom take the following concise account. Jemima Wilkinson, born among the Quakers in Cumberland, in the county of Providence, being a young woman of a retentive memory, and an eloquent tongue, declares that in October, 1776, she was not only taken sick but actually died, and her soul went to heaven; soon after which, she says, her body was re-animated by the spirit and power of Christ; upon which she set out as a public teacher, and for a while had large assemblies to hear her in various parts of the county of Bristol, and from thence westward to New-London. Indeed she has travelled as far as Boston on one hand, and Philadelphia on the other; but her chief followers were within the above limits. A young man, who was an intimate counsellor of hers for some years, gives the following account of her, and of how he and other people were ensnared by her. He first heard her at Tiverton, in 1778, and says he, "The first appearance seemed to be something singular and extraordinary, in a habit different from what is common amongst women, wearing her hair curled in her neck, without any other covering on her head, except when she travelled out she put on a hat much like a man's, only with the brim down. Her visage a good deal bright, with a very agreeable countenance; her voice very grum and shrill for a woman, and seemed pathetical and engaging in her discourse, in which were abundance of scripture expressions, though not much explained, or light held up from them; neither did I ever hear her advance much scripture doctrine of the principles of religion, but her exhortation seemed to be very affecting, shewing a very sedate countenance with seriousness and solemnity, admonishing all to repent
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and forsake evil, and learn to do well, and live as they would wish to die.—And as the state of mankind at this day is much like the Athenians, that spent their time in nothing else but either to hear or tell some new thing, her coming forth as a preacher different from all other sects or denominations of people, being a woman of extraordinary natural abilities, speaking as an orator, of a great memory in the scriptures, and having abundance of strange reports spread abroad concerning her, some false and some true, produce abundance of spectators and enquirers. And she appears zealously engaged, and says she devotes herself and service wholly to the glory of God, and the good of souls. She exhorts people in a pathetical manner, with great confidence and boldness; and says she has an immediate revelation for all she delivers; that she is the greatest minister that God has sent to the people these seventeen hundred and odd years; and advancing herself to live as she exhorts others to, fully in a state of perfection, with no liability of error or defect in any respect, seems to have great influence upon many serious people; for no one would rationally think that a person in their right senses would dare to hold forth and affirm such great and exalted things concerning themselves, unless it were so in reality*.” This is a brief view of the substance of his account of her way of proceeding, which brought a number of ignorant people, and some who have been officers in the State, to follow and cleave to her affectionately, as a person invested with immediate and great power from above, even power to work miracles. But her influence has not been half so great and extensive as that of the other

* Brownell upon enthusiastical errors, 1783, p. 5—7.

other woman mentioned, both of whose schemes are now dying away.

VIII. AND thus I have pointed out some of the ways wherein men have gone a *whoring with their own inventions* (Psal. cvi. 39) which is fixing their affections and dependence thereon, instead of the God of truth. And though it is a maxim with earthly politicians, that their King can do no wrong, thereby imputing all that is wrong to others; yet they have long taken the opposite course concerning the kingdom of Christ. All the frauds, oppressions and licentiousness, that have been practised under his name, have been cast upon Christianity itself; as if because men are false, therefore God is not true. Instead of owning his just authority, they have exalted themselves above him, and have arraigned *his sayings* at their bar, Rom. iii. 4. What he says concerning the entire depravity of man, and their enmity of heart against God, they make a chief argument against the truth of his sayings in his written word; and thus they plainly confirm the truth of it, by their arguments against it. And because errors and heresies more openly break out, where he has poured out his spirit, than where people like Moab are settled upon their lees, many conclude that it was not his spirit that moved upon the minds of the people; which argument is about as conclusive as it would be to say, that the influences of the sun are not really good in the spring and summer, because they cause a very disagreeable stench to arise from dunghills and dead carcasses, which we do not smell when the sun is at a great distance; and these things are hard frozen in the winter; or to say that the showers of heaven are not good, because they make the thorns to grow as well as the wheat. These reasoners
often

often declare, that if we are entirely dependent upon the sovereign will of God, for renewing and saving grace, then all our use of means to attain salvation is in vain; but why do they use means for their bodies? *If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this or that.* Who were they that said a few years ago, *"We will bring America to our feet!—We will not receive law from any power whatever!"* Where is the Governor who required us to submit to an *absolute and unlimited power* in man! (Page 289, 290, 364.) God's plan of government is absolutely perfect and immutable; and he has appointed the means and the end, and the means in order to the end, in the moral as well as natural world. The means of grace are calculated in infinite wisdom to open the eyes of men, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Precepts and promises, rewards and punishments, calls and warnings, are all motives to influence the choice of man. And the strongest hold that the devil has in this world is to persuade man, that a being governed in his choice by motives without himself, is inconsistent with the liberty of moral agents; and to persuade him at the same time that necessity obliges God to pardon and save them, whenever they shall become sincere penitents. Thus they assume a sovereignty to themselves, which they deny to their MAKER; and treat him as a *servant*, to whom they may say, *go thy way for this time, and when I have a convenient season I will call for thee*; making his choice dependent upon theirs. If motives without us do not determine our choice, it would be impossible for God to govern us; and, as the excellent Edwards observes, Arminian principles truly involve in their nature the horrid blasphemy

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my which they falsely cast upon the Calvinists, of charging God with acting a deceitful part towards men, in appointing the means of grace; for these are motives to determine their choice on the side of virtue, which he could not be sincere in appointing, if their choice is not determined by motives without themselves*. His immutable designs are so far from interfering with the liberty of moral agents, that where they are known, the believer dare not make them the rule of his conduct; and hereby subjects and rebels are distinguished. An express precept required Saul to destroy Agag, as well as the rest of the Amalakites; and by disobedience thereto he lost his kingdom and his soul. On the other hand, David knew that God designed to remove Saul, yet having no precept to kill him, he refused to do it, though much provoked thereto, when he had very convenient opportunities to cut him off. And though the prophet Samuel, by immediate direction from above, anointed David to be king over Israel, yet he never assumed that power but by their free choice and covenant; and when this was done by part of them, he made no use of their arms to compel others to receive him. And when ten tribes revolted from his grandson, who collected an army to bring them under him again, God warned him not to do it, and was obeyed therein. And if a *power of will* opposite to the bible had not been dreadfully set up in latter ages, mystery Babylon would not have been drunken with blood as she now is. A revelation to the Jews of God's design, that Jesus should die for that nation, did not at all lessen the guilt of those who thereupon *took counsel together for to put him to death*, John xi. 51—53. Obedience to

* Edwards on the will, p. 266, third edition.

to what he requires of us, is the measure of our duty and felicity, without attempting to get into the place of the universal Ruler. At the same time no honest soul could be happy under his government, if they thought it possible for men or devils to deceive him, and to defeat his designs. And whether the whole history of this country, as well as others, does not demonstrate, that a hearty and unfeigned obedience to his revealed will is our wisdom as well as duty, and that all disobedience thereto is infinitely hateful and dreadful, is now freely referred to the reader's conscience.

C H A P. XXIII.

1. The Nature of Covenants explained.
2. The Sentiments of the Baptist Churches about Terms of Communion, the Power of Councils, and the Nature and Place of human Learning.
3. A List of their Churches in New-England.

I. **T**HE word covenant, when used concerning contracts between man and man, includes many ideas that can have no place in the affairs betwixt the creature and his Creator; and so much darkness has appeared in controversies upon this subject, that some worthy men have thought it best to adopt the word testament instead of covenant in the latter case. But a review must convince us that
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we cannot get free of difficulties by this change of words; because testament, when used about a father's will who is absent from us, is essentially different from the will of God, who is ever present, and sees our inmost thoughts. Yet testament ever means the will of the testator expressed, and also a free disposal of his property as he pleaseth; which, when well ratified, is as good a title as any in the world, although it would spoil it for the legatees to have any hand in forming it. And mutual consent, with mutual obligations and privileges, are essential ideas in all covenants. *This do, and thou shalt live*, was the language of God to Adam in innocency, with which his heart concurred; and this obligation to love is immutably binding upon all his children, Luke x. 27, 28. To withhold this obedience is to rob both God and man of their right; and God justly requires every sinner to *give again that he had robbed, and to walk in the statutes of life without committing iniquity*. And the new covenant is the writing the law of love in the believer's heart, which yields a free consent to it, in the tenor of *I will, and they shall*, Ezek. xxxiii. 15, Rom. viii. 3, 4, Heb. viii. 10, 11. All who have this work wrought within them ought to confess the same *with their mouths*, and to receive each other as Christ received them, to the glory of God. Says the apostle, they *first gave their own selves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God*, Rom. x. 10, xv. 7, 2 Cor. viii. 5. This is the exact nature of a church covenant; which shews that no person can be brought into it without his own consent, that the covenant cannot bind any person or community to act any thing contrary to the revealed *will of God*, nor ever exempt any from their obligation to act agreeable thereto with all their hearts.

II. GREAT imperfections still remain among us in these respects; yet it is thought best to exhibit to the world a list of the churches in New-England who profess these principles, at least so far as not to allow that persons can be forced into religious covenants. A few of them admit some Pedobaptists to their communion, and it is but a few; neither can that practice last long, as our opponents know that practice speaks louder than words; and a noted minister and church in the county of Plymouth openly debarred one of their pious members from their communion last year, for no other crime than a *being buried in baptism*; by which act say they, "She has practically declared infant baptism a nullity, and this church to be a company of unbaptized persons." And the Separate churches in Connecticut published their terms of communion three years ago, which were these, viz. "As to our Baptist brethren, we are free to hold occasional communion with such as are regular churches, and make the Christian profession as abovesaid, and *acknowledge us to be baptized churches*," &c*. Hereby they confirm our terms of communion, as described (p. 214, 215.) Our sentiments concerning the use and power of Councils are the same as those described by our fathers (p. 39, 40) and we refuse to hear any complaints of censured persons in our annual Associations, because that would imply jurisdiction over the churches, which we disclaim; and we hold that a Council freely chosen, and meeting near the place of difficulty or grievance, where a fair hearing of the parties concerned may be had, is the most rational and scriptural method of proceeding in such cases.

* Declaration of said churches, met at Killingly, September 19, 1781, p. 21.

cases. Our sentiments about the nature and proper place of human learning are well expressed (p. 55.) Confining the ministry to an education at college, as well as compelling people to support such, have produced infinite mischiefs in all ages, which could never have prevailed as they have, if cruel arts had not been made use of to keep the people in ignorance, and to prejudice their minds against true knowledge, both sacred and civil. The foundation for learning laid at Providence (mentioned p. 235) has suffered much in the late war, but the school appears now again in a promising way. All other colleges have been very expensive to governments, but this has never received any thing in that way (no not to repair damages which government has occasioned therein) but personal generosity laid its foundation, and has been its support hitherto. Gentlemen of various denominations, chiefly in the town of Providence, subscribed above Four Thousand Pounds therefor before the college edifice was erected in that town; and considerable sums have been given since, especially in the year past, to augment their library. And as liberal sentiments are taught therein, and all denominations, whose civil and moral conduct is agreeable, have equal privileges for learning in it, liberal communications are earnestly solicited for the necessary support of this institution.

III. *A brief View of the present State of the Baptist Churches in New-England, according to the latest and best Accounts that have been received.*

[The first Column contains the Year when each Church was constituted, the second the Name of the Town, the third their Minister's Name, if they have any, and the fourth the Number of their Members, if that is known.]

*In the MASSACHUSETTS,
County of Suffolk.*

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Town.</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>No.</i>
1665	Boston	Samuel Stillman, A. M.	158
1743		Isaac Skillman, A. M.	43
1750	Bellingham	Noah Alden	56
1769	Wrentham	William Williams, A. M.	39
1776	Medfield	Thomas Gair, A. M.	72
1780	Needham	Noah Baker	
1780	Stoughton	Vacant	

County of Bristol.

1663	Swansey	Charles Thompson, A. M.	
1693		Russel Mason	
1753	Rehoboth	Nathan Peirce	
1762		John Hicks	100
1772		Jacob Hicks	
1777		James Sheldon	48
1780		Vacant	
1761	Taunton	William Nelson, A. M.	79
1769	Attleborough	Job Seamans	80
1781		Elisha Carpenter	59
1772	Dighton	Enoch Goff	120
1774	Freetown	Abner Lewis	95
1781		David Seamans	50
1774	Dartmouth	Vacant	19
1781		Daniel Hicks	
1780	Raynham	Vacant	35

County

County of Plymouth.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Town.</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>No.</i>
1756	Middleborough	Isaac Backus	137
1757		Ebenezer Hinds	70
1761		Afa Hunt	194

County of Essex.

1765	Haverhill	Hezekiah Smith, A. M.	190
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County of Middlesex.

1771	Chelmsford	Abishai Crofman	87
1780	Newton	Caleb Blood	79
1781	Cambridge	Thomas Green	27

Dukes County.

	Chilmark	Silas Paul	
1780	Tisbury	Vacant	79

County of Worcester.

1738	Leicester	Vacant	70
1749	Sturbridge	Jordan Dodge	53
1762	Charlton	Nathaniel Green	155
1765	Sutton	Ebenezer Lamson	78
1767	Grafton	Elkanah Ingalls	38
1768	Peterham	Vacant	
1770	Royalston	Whitman Jacobs	89
1774	Douglafs	Vacant	
1775	Dudley	Vacant	33
1776	Harvard	Isaiah Parker	110
1779	Ashburnham	Vacant	37
1780	Northbridge	Vacant	25
1782	Templeton	John Sellon	23

County of Hampshire.

1736	South-Brimfield	Elijah Coddington	236
1740	West-Springfield	Edward Upham, A. M.	
1761	Ashfield	Ebenezer Smith	90
1762	Granby	James Smith	
1765	Montague	Vacant	32
			1768

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Town.</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>No.</i>
1768	Wilbraham	Seth Clark	139
1772	New-Salem	Samuel Bigelow	35
1780	Shutesbury	William Ewing	26
1780	Colerain	Vacant	50
1780	Bernardston	Joseph Green	
1780	Chesterfield	Vacant	

County of Berkshire.

1769	Adams	Peter Werden	133
1771	Lanesborough	Nathan Mason	150
1772	Pittsfield	Valentine Rathbun	15
1772	Hancock	Clark Rogers	85
1777	Washington	Vacant	
1779	Sandisfield	Joshua Morse	30
	Alford	Jacob Drake	
1781	W. Stockbridge	Elnathan Wilcox	15

County of York.

1768	Berwick	William Hooper	53
1772	Sanford	Vacant	
	Wells	Nathaniel Lord	56
1782	Coxhall	Simon Lock	32

County of Cumberland.

1768	Goreham	Vacant	
1782	N. Gloucester	Vacant	

County of Lincoln.

1784	Bowdinhams	Job Macomber	27
1784	Thomaston	Isaac Case	50

State of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

1755	Newton	Vacant	
1770	Richmond	Matturean Bellou	122
1771	Lebanon	Vacant	12
1771	Westmoreland	Ebenezer Baily	
1771	Brentwood	Samuel Shepard	156
1771	Deerfield	Elipheleth Smith	

[1784.] OF NEW-ENGLAND: 423

Year.	Town.	Ministers.	No.
1772	Gilmanton	Vacant	30
1777	Marlow	Eleazer Beckwith	27
1778	Croydon	Vacant	22
1779	Canterbury	Vacant	27
1780		Vacant	28
1780	Northwood	Edmund Pillsbury	44
1780	Salem	Samuel Fletcher	60
1780	Rumney	——— Hains	27
1780	Holdernefs	Vacant	23
1780	Meredith	Nicholas Folsom	21
1780	Chichester	Vacant	27
1780	Barrington	Vacant	22
1780	Hubbardston	Vacant	27
1782	New-Hampton	Jeremiah Ward	27
1782	Perryston	Samuel Ambrose	27
1782	Temple	Vacant	27
1782	Savil	Vacant	12
1783	Weare	Vacant	27
1783	Canaan	Thomas Baldwin	18

State of CONNECTICUT. 23

County of Hartford.

1739	Southington	Vacant	21
1743	Colchester	Vacant	27
1755	Stafford	Vacant	20
1760	Enfield	Vacant	27
1775	Suffield	John Hastings	27
1780	Coventry	Vacant	27
	Farmington	John Davis	27
1783	Chatham	Solomon Wheat	27

County of Fairfield.

1751	Stratfield	Seth Higbie	27
1773	Stamford	Elkanah Holmes	27
1773	Greenwich	Vacant	27

County

County of New-London.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Town.</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>No.</i>
1705	Groton	Timothy Wightman	
		Silas Burris	
1775		Rufus Allen	
	Stonington	Eleazer Brown	
1765		Simeon Brown	
1775	Stonington Point	Vacant	
	New-London	Zadock Darrah	
	Saybrook	Elipheleth Lester	
	Lyme	Jason Lee	
1782	Norwich	Christopher Palmer	

County of Windham.

1750	Killingly,	John Martin	
1776		Vacant	59
1766	Woodstock	Biel Ledoyt	143
1776	Pomfret	Vacant	
1774	Ashford	Vacant	
1779		John Rathbun	
1780	Willington	David Lillebridge	
1780	Mansfield	Vacant	

*State of RHODE-ISLAND.**County of Newport.*

1644	Newport	Erasmus Kelly, A. M.	25
1656		Gardner Thurston	236
1671		William Blifs	39
1685	Tiverton	Peleg Burroughs	134

County of Providence.

1639	Providence	James Manning, A. M.	127
	Scituate	Reuben Hopkins	
	Smithfield	John Winsor	
	Cumberland	Abner Bellou	
	Gloucester	Joseph Winsor	79
	N. Providence	Rufus Tift	

Year.	Town.	Ministers.	No.
1771	Johnston	Samuel Winfor	
	Foster	Nathan Young	

County of Washington.

1708	Hopkinton	Joshua Clarke	
1750	Westerly	Vacant	
		Josiah Wilcox	
	Charlestown	Samuel Niles	
	S. Kingstown	Benjamin Wait	
		Vacant	
1710	N. Kingstown	Nathan Hill	
		Philip Jenckins	
		William Northup	
1750	Exeter	Solomon Sprague	
1772	Richmond	Thomas West	
		Vacant	

County of Kent.

	Warwick	Abraham Lippet	
1743	East-Greenwich	John Gorton	
	Coventry	Thomas Manchester	
		Caleb Nichols	300
	West-Greenwich	Elisha Greene	

County of Bristol.

1764	Warren	Vacant	
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The following churches were omitted in their proper place.

Year.	Town.	Ministers.	No.
1757	Harwich	Vacant	43
1781		Samuel Nickerson	
1771	Barnstable	Vacant	41
1781	Freetown	Vacant	

Total number 4783

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Having had several Interviews with divers of the People called Quakers, on the Subject of the first Volume of my History, and finding I have not clearly expressed their Sentiments and Practices, and some Facts appearing to me different from what they did when I wrote, I am desirous, with them, to have the History corrected, and Matters put in such a Light, that Posterity may not misapprehend them: Let the Reader therefore receive the following Correction, as what appears to me most consistent with the Truth, and in Justice to that People ought to be transmitted to Posterity.

IN page 141, the following extract from John Tyso's letter, "There was nothing in him (i. e. Dr. Increase Mather, as he said) that he hoped to be saved by," having been made by me to manifest an error in Friends respecting Christ within; I would observe, that I do not look upon it as an error, provided Christ without be also acknowledged, and it be held agreeable to the true sense of John vi. 56, xvii. 26, 1 John iii. 24, in which sense I am informed it is held by Friends.

In page 143, 144, I have quoted some of Roger Williams's arguments against Friends sentiments of the grace of God having appeared, or being manifested to all mankind universally; for their answer to which arguments, I would refer to Fox, &c. answer, page 17—20, 2d part.

In page 307, I mentioned that Quakers were so called from Fox and his companions trembling and quaking before Gervase Bennet, a Justice in Derby. I meant not to insinuate, that their trembling on that occasion, or others, was occasioned by the fear of man; neither do I on a review of proofs find sufficient grounds to reject Fox's account of their receiving said name, which follows in the same page; though it is allowed by Barclay,

they, as well as Mosheim, that their quaking and trembling in other places occasioned their being commonly called by that name.

In page 321, I undertake to inform posterity how those Quakers behaved under their sufferings; upon a review of which it appears just to add, that I find, and that by other parts of Cudworth's uncontroverted letter, not quoted by me, that he was turned out of office, as he expressly says, "Because I had entertained some of the Quakers at my house, that thereby I might be the better acquainted with their principles; the Court professing they had nothing at all against me, only in that thing, of giving entertainment to the Quakers." And he informs us, "That when the Quakers were committed to prison, they must be kept on coarse bread and water, no Friend may bring them any thing, none permitted to speak with them, nay, if they have money of their own, they may not make use of that to relieve themselves; they have many adherents, and a little to acquaint you with their sufferings, which is grievous unto and saddens the hearts of most of the precious saints of God; it lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds, to see and hear of poor families deprived of their comforts, and brought into penury and want. As far as I am able to judge of the end, it is to force them from their homes and lawful habitations, and to drive them out of their coasts.—As for the means by which they are impoverished, these in the first place were scrupulous of an oath." This does not appear to be confined to allegiance or fidelity to government, but oaths at large, which principle I understand they maintain from our Saviour's command, Mat. v. 34, I say unto you swear not at all, &c. "Why then we must put in force an old law, that all may take the oath of fidelity;—they cannot—then a fine of Five Pounds. On this account thirty-five head of cattle, as I am credibly informed, hath been by the authority of the Court taken
from

from them the latter part of this summer. A poor weaver that has seven or eight small children, himself lame in his body, had but two cows, and both taken from him: The Marshal asked him what he would do? The man said, that God, who gave him them, he doubted not would still provide for him. To fill up the measure yet more full, though to the further emptying of Sandwich men, the Court of Assistants, the first Tuesday of this instant, was pleased to determine fines upon them for meetings, One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and among others the poor weaver spoken of Twenty Pounds, &c." And after his mentioning their not suffering their friends of Rhode-Island to come and trade with them, proceeds, "So that unless the Lord steps in to their help and assistance, in some way beyond man's conceiving, their case is sad and to be pitied, and truly it moves bowels of compassion in all sorts except those in place, who carry it with a high hand towards them. Our bench now is Thomas Prince, Governor, &c." See the letter in Bishop's history, from page 168—177, or more at large in the second volume, folio, of the book of sufferings of the Quakers, from page 191—195, which last I did not see till since the publication of the first volume of my history.

From the foregoing account, and what Bishop charges upon Governor Prince, viz. "That in thy conscience they were such a people as deserved to be destroyed, they, their wives, their children, their houses and lands, without pity or mercy:" Which sentiment of his against the Quakers, I am told, is remembered in the family, being handed down to those of his posterity now living.—It must therefore be acknowledged, he must have had too great a share in the persecutions mentioned: And as the persecuted Norton said, the strength of darkness must then have been too unhappily over him. And in justice to Humphry Norton's character (which is understood to be lessened by my manner of inserting his letter,

ter, and treating this subject, in page 322 of my history) I think further to manifest his and J. Rouse's behaviour under their sufferings, by inserting a paragraph in Bishop's history, page 179, which would render my account more intelligible and full. Speaking of the number of lashes, which I mentioned, he adds, "Which as it drew store of blood, so it took much with the spectators, who beheld them in the stocks first praying, then saluting each other, and bidding the executioner have patience a little (when he came to take off their cloaths) and he should see they could give their backs to the smiters." And Bishop adds, that "They gave in a paper assigning the grounds and reasons of their returning, when they were demanded wherefore they came in, which the magistrates would not suffer to be read; and so envious were they, that for taking John Rouse by the hand they put three of the inhabitants of Sandwich in the stocks." And it appearing by the said Bishop's history, and the book of Friends sufferings, that other whippings and persecutions followed in Plymouth Colony, and that the said Humphry Norton, under whippings and other persecutions at New-Haven, appears to have behaved in a Christian temper, when being loosed from the stocks after being whipped, having a great iron key tyed athwart his mouth, and burnt deep in his hand with a red hot iron, "He kneeled down and prayed to the Lord, uttering his voice towards heaven, to the astonishment of them all."—The reader is referred thereto for a more particular account.

In page 323, I interpreted the figurative expressions of "Rending the rocks of wisdom and knowledge, and exalting that which is low," as directed against civil and ecclesiastical government, which I supposed they meant to subject to a supposed spiritual power in Christians without outward laws and rules: But on further enquiry and conversation with Friends, I am convinced they thereby referred to the coming of the Lord, by his
spiritual

spiritual work, to level the wise and great, compared to mountains; and the literal knowledge and meer scholastic divinity, compared to rocks, as being hard to penetrate and break; for that which is meek and low to be exalted, even Christ within the hope of glory.—In which sense I perceive that passage is now understood by Friends.

In the same page I observed, on some preceding extracts from Fox's and Williams's writings, "This opens the plain cause why they (the Quakers) militated so hard against other magistrates and government." And in the form of an allegory, in page 507, it is said, "To whom others made fierce opposition professedly from the light within; and their clashing were so great that several lives were lost in the fray." The terms militate, fierce opposition and clashing to the loss of lives, used to represent the conduct of Friends in those days, in respect to civil government, are too harsh to be justified by any authenticated facts.—I conceive it to be essential to civil government, that the magistrate have a power to inflict corporal punishments, and also to arm his subjects to war against invaders of their rights, and therefore that the teaching of a contrary doctrine in either of these points, so far as it has influence, tends to obstruct or pull down government; and in no other sense did I ever mean to charge the Quakers with militating against or obstructing government.

I find they allow magistrates to inflict corporal punishments upon their subjects, who transgress the rules of equity*; but do not approve of arming their subjects to war against others. And in all States where they have been, I know nothing but that, as a society, they have been either actively obedient thereto, or have passively suffered what they were pleased to inflict upon them, without plotting against the government thereof,
or

* See Fox's epistle to Friends at Nevis, in 1675. Also, Isaac Pennington's works, folio, first part, page 323.

or using any forcible resistance against it. And I desire the reader to remember that I mean to correct every thing in my history that seemingly or really contradicts these ideas, and this character of the society.

In page 324, I speak of our Lord's direction to his disciples, Mat. x. 23, and of his own conduct towards the Gergesenes, Mat. viii. 34, as forming a general rule for us, thence charging some blame upon those Quakers who returned into the Massachusetts; whereas they now both appear to me to refer to special and peculiar cases.

As to the writings I referred to at the top of page 327, I rather think my memory failed me in that respect; and as to not having light from scripture, for actions, in the same page, I find that they suppose that Isaiah xx. 2, and Micah i. 8, prove, that the women there mentioned might be moved by the divine spirit to do those actions; of which the reader is left to judge for himself.

Upon a review of page 325 and 462, compared with their own writings, I find that I had some mistaken ideas of what they held concerning the light within, and therefore freely refer the reader to their own authors for information in that respect.

I did not mean, in page 462, to charge them with calling darkness light, any further than wherein they appeared to be against allowing others the free liberty of examining, and by arguments opposing sentiments which they judged to be erroneous; which, whether they were against or not, I freely submit to the reader's judgment.

William Harris is referred to at the bottom of page 152, and in page 457 is named as a Quaker; I am now convinced that he was not one then, if he ever was; and the word only, as I twice used it in page 469, and once in page 472, in a way that seems to acquit Mr. Williams from any blame in his dispute with the Quakers, was more than I intended; for I really

really think there was a great deal of imperfection discovered by him, as well as his opponents, in the management of that dispute; and if he meant to punish any meerly for their plain use of thee and thou (which I think he did not) I do not concur with any such thing.

In page 463, I have not so fully quoted Friends answer to Roger Williams's objections as might be necessary to give an adequate view of both sides of the dispute; therefore I refer my reader to their writings on that subject, particularly George Fox's answer to said objections, page 155, and appendix, 117, 118.

Page 470, line 32, after the word sentence, insert, viz. blood will be given, which words are particularly marked, as referred to by Grove.

As by the grapes of Sodom and clusters of Gomorrah, in page 460, some might suppose I meant to charge the vices, that are couched under those expressions, upon the Quakers; I here declare that I meant no such thing.

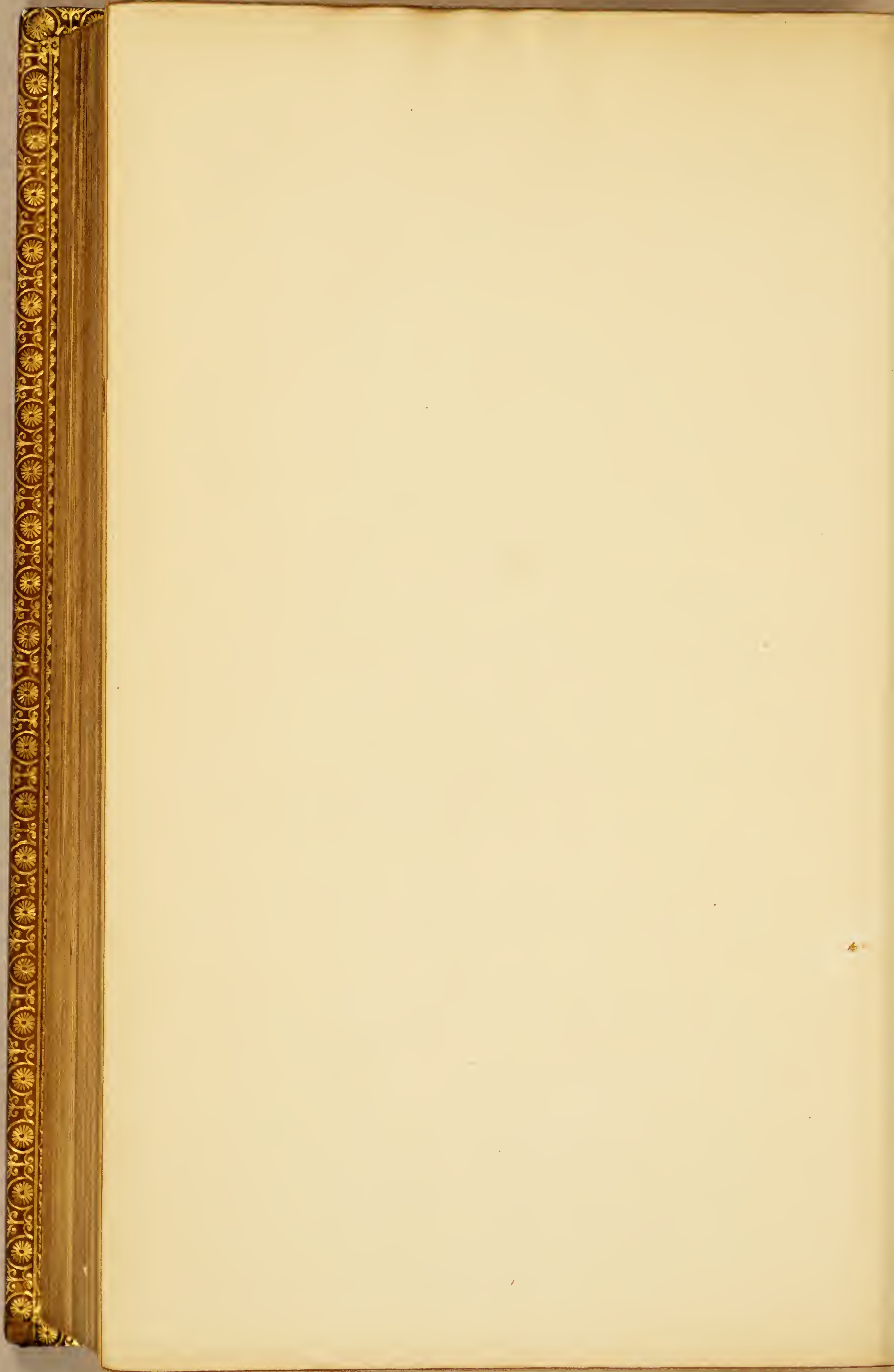
Perhaps the partiality, in favour of Mr. Cotton, which I mention in page 471, was owing to Mr. Codrington's particular affection for him, rather than to the cause there assigned.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 32, line 23, read 1707. P. 65, l. 3, r. eighty. P. 99, l. 30, r. Burton, Esq; P. 170, l. 21, for him, r. them. P. 237, margin, r. sober-mindedness. P. 240, l. 10, r. to prevent. P. 264, l. 12, for him, r. time. P. 293, l. 12, r. Colonies. P. 354, l. 4, r. country. P. 359, l. 11, r. spiritual. P. 379, l. 26, r. 1758. Page 405, l. 22, r. bountiful.





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